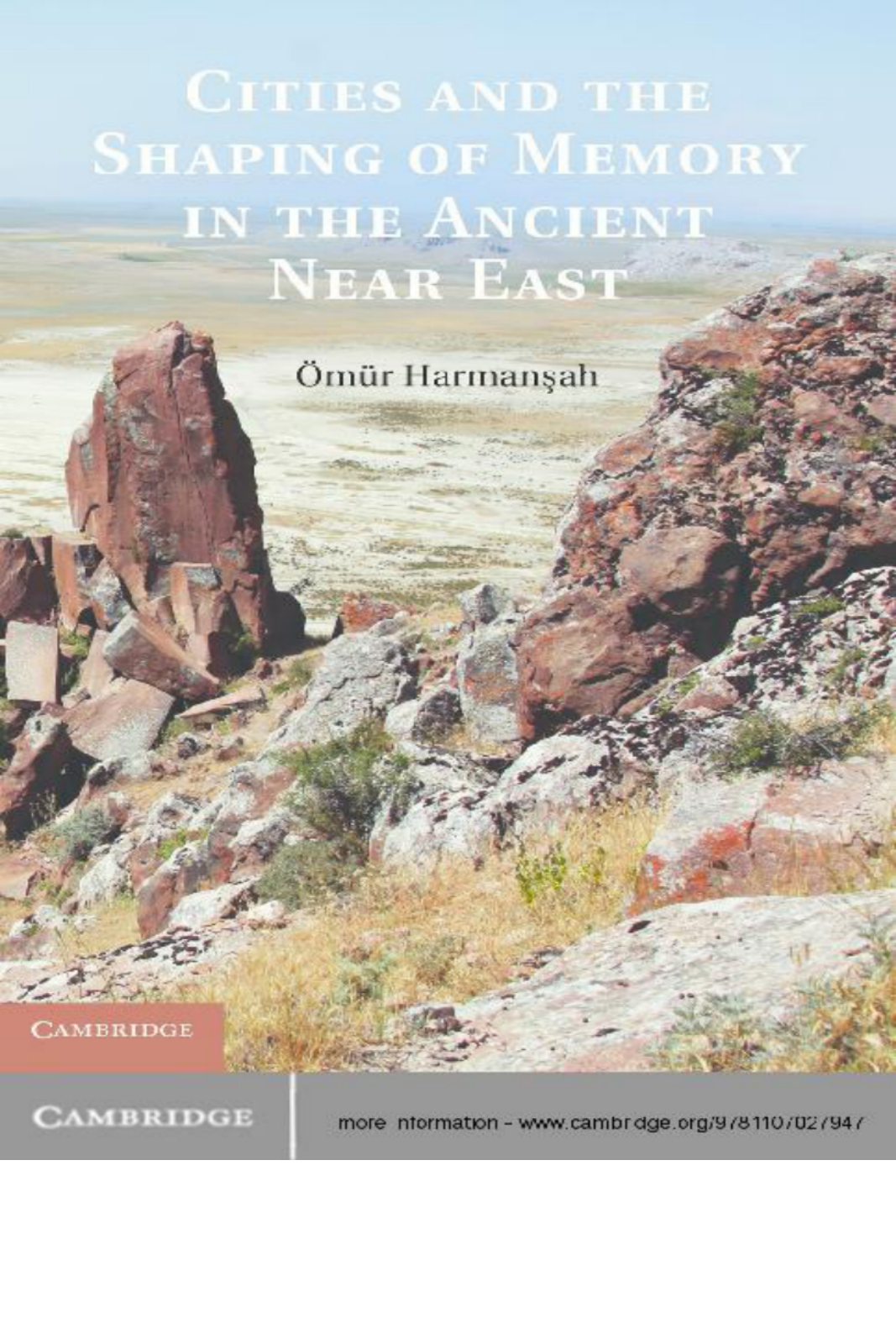


Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East

Ömür Harmanah

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CITIES AND THE SHAPING OF MEMORY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Ömür Harmanşah

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Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East

This book investigates the founding and building of cities in the ancient Near East. The creation of new cities was imagined as an ideological project or a divine intervention in the political narratives and mythologies of Near Eastern cultures, often masking the complex processes behind the social production of urban space. During the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–850 BCE), Assyrian and Syro-Hittite rulers developed a highly performative official discourse that revolved around constructing cities, cultivating landscapes, building watercourses, erecting monuments, and initiating public festivals. This volume combs through archaeological, epigraphic, visual, architectural, and environmental evidence to tell the story of a region from the perspective of its spatial practices, landscape history, and architectural technologies. It argues that the cultural processes of the making of urban spaces shape collective memory and identity as well as sites of political performance and state spectacle.

Ömür Harmanah is Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Egyptology, and Ancient Western Asian Studies at Brown University. He currently directs the Yalburt Yaylas Archaeological Landscape Project, a Brown University–based regional survey in west-central Turkey since 2010. In the past, he has worked on archaeological projects in Turkey and Greece, including Gordion, Ayanis, Kerkenes Da, and Isthmia. His articles have been published in journals such as *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, *Archaeological Dialogues*, and the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

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For my daughter Nar

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Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAAS	Les annales achéologiques arabes syriennes
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AnaAra	Anadolu Aratrmalar.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AW	Antike Welt
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCSMS	Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies
BiblArch	Biblical Archaeologist
BSMS	Bulletin of the Society for Mesopotamian Studies
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History

CAJ
Cambridge Archaeological Journal

DaM
Damaszener Mitteilungen

EpigAnat
Epigraphica Anatolica

IstMitt
Istanbuler Mitteilungen

JAE
Journal of Architectural Education

JANES
Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society

JAOS
Journal of the American Oriental Society

JCS
Journal of Cuneiform Studies

JESHO
Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JFA
Journal of Field Archaeology

JMA
Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

JNES
Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JSAH
Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians

MDOG
Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

OEANE
Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East (New
York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

PAPS
Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association

RA
Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale

RHA
Revue Hittite et Asianique

- RIA
Reallexikon der Assyriologie
- RIMA
The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
- SAA
State Archives of Assyria
- SAAB
State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
- SMEA
Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici
- TAD
Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
- TAVO
Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
- Tüba-Ar
Tüba-Ar: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi
- WA
World Archaeology
- WO
Die Welt des Orients
- ZA
Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie

Preface

Ankara, the city where I grew up, was refounded as the modern capital of the newly born Turkish Republic on October 13, 1923. Founders of the state in Turkey were keen on distancing themselves from Istanbul, the aged capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. They intended to open up a new urban sphere, an ideologically and socially fresh ground for enacting their modernist utopias for the generation of an urban culture fully endowed with European modernity. The architecture of this newly constructed capital was characterized as “architecture of revolution,” and adopted the technologies, styles, and visual culture of the Modern Movement in Europe (Bozdooan 2001: 56f.; Kezer 1998). Constructing Ankara was perhaps the most concrete manifestation of the new political order and the ideology of the new republic that explicitly distanced itself from the contaminated recent past. Ankara's ceremonial spaces were designed *for* and *as* spectacles of this modernist state.

I also grew up within a nationalist education system in which we were taught that Ankara rose from a tiny and dusty Anatolian town to a modern capital. It would be much later in graduate school that I would learn with astonishment that in the sixteenth century Ankara was probably the largest city in Central Anatolia and the center of a prosperous network of trade. Such significance of Ankara as a central place was also the case most probably during the Phrygian and Early Roman periods. Looking from the long-term perspective then, the choice of Ankara as the new capital of modern Turkey was clearly not a random choice but a historically informed decision. It was partly dictated by the potential of the place and its history of being central in networks of trade and political organization of the Central Anatolian landscape.

When I started to formulate my first ideas about this research project in the beginning of the twenty-first century, Ankara had long diverged from the ideals of its modernist founders. This immense city of 4.5 million or so people had been devoured by squatter

neighborhoods in its periphery and fallen victim to unplanned urban development with the massive influx of population from the countryside. Hermann Jansen's adorable 1927 plan for Ankara, which conceived it as a garden city and placed the airport centrally in its hippodrome, left very little of its traces in the city. Ankara instead created a cultural landscape of its own, keeping the subtle imprint of its fragile everyday history. In very interesting ways, this city embodies a complex mixture of idealist interventions to the urban space and the subtle resistance of everyday practices and collective memory, and the gradual, day-by-day deconstruction of ambitious and rigid schemes. In *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, I explore this very tension, this duality of urban space between the short-term, picturesque, utopian monumentality occasionally imposed upon the city versus its long-term cultural biography. My passion for the study of cities emanates from the experience of Ankara's restless spaces.

I would like to express my gratitude here to those of you who substantially contributed to the making of this book. Those of you whose names I fail to mention, I hope you will forgive me. This book has its roots in my PhD dissertation written at the University of Pennsylvania's Department of the History of Art. My advisor there, Holly Pittman, was an endless source of heartfelt support and encouragement from the very beginning of my graduate studies at Penn to this day. It would also be hard to exaggerate Renata Holod's impact on the formation of my approach to architectural history and the study of landscapes. Professor Irene J. Winter of Harvard University gave me encouragement during our several encounters from symposia to symposia. Apart from the influence of her scholarship on my work, she tirelessly read my work during the process of writing and wrote to me many memorable notes, messages, and letters, all full of insights and constructive criticism. The late Professor Keith DeVries was always an endless and friendly source of inspiration and awareness of the most up-to-date research in Anatolian archaeology. I am grateful to Richard Zettler, who introduced me to Mesopotamian archaeology, and to my Akkadian mentors Barry Eichler and Earle Lichty. I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at Brown University, Sue Alcock and John F. Cherry, who provided generous support as I struggled to finish this manuscript for Cambridge University Press. Teaching at Reed College and Brown University, my students were exposed to several portions of the book, and their feedback has been instrumental to me while giving the book its final touches. I am also grateful to the two anonymous readers of the manuscript. The book benefited immensely from their careful

reading and constructive criticism. Working with Cambridge University Press editor Beatrice Rehl and her assistants Isabella Vitti, Amanda J. Smith, and Anastasia Graf was always delightful. I thank them for their hard work.

Lengthy hours of discussion at the University of Pennsylvania Museum Café with Elif Denel helped me shape several ideas related to Syro-Hittite states and to overcome the difficulties of dealing with archaeological material from the Iron Age in north Syria and southeast Anatolia. What my friends and colleagues Matthew Rutz, Paul Delnero, WuXin, Gül Kaçmaz, Açılya Kyak, Heather Grossman, Gabriel Pizzorno, Asl Tanrkulu, Günder Varinliolu, Susan Helft, Jeremie Peterson, Alexis Boutin, and Ersan Ocak have shared with me has always been beyond collegiality, and there is always something from each of them between the lines of this book. My family in Turkey – Güler, Fahri, Onur, and Rabia – were a continuous source of encouragement and support over the many years I spent in the United States. Thank you.

Peri Johnson made the greatest of all contributions to this book as she stood by me unfailingly with love and collegiality. Very few of the ideas presented here have not gone through the examination by her very critical eye. Words will fail me if I even attempt to begin thanking her.

During the fieldwork phase of this project, numerous individuals helped me to access various archaeological resources. I would like to thank G. Kenneth Sams and Altan Çilingiroğlu for allowing me to work on the Iron Age architectural techniques at the sites of Gordion and Ayanis, respectively, even though I ended up not using this valuable material in this book. I am grateful to the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, who generously issued permits for working on the Iron Age stone monuments at Van Archaeological Museum (2001), Gaziantep Archaeological Museum (2001), and Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum (2002). I am also indebted to the friendly staff members of the three museums for their help and support during the times I spent in each of them. I am grateful to Refik Duru, Kay Kohlmeyer, Reinhard Dittman, David Hawkins, Tony Waltham, Frances Pinnock, and the Ebla Project, for kindly allowing me to use illustrations from their publications. Similarly generous was the British Academy, the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the British Institute for the Study of Iraq with the images they have supplied. The

John Hay Library at Brown University kindly digitized a number of the illustrations used in the book.

The revisions of the volume were carried out during my sabbatical year at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (RCAC) at Koç University (Istanbul). I thank Scott Redford and the staff at RCAC for providing a very hospitable environment in which to work. I am also grateful to the staff at the Cogut Center for the Humanities at Brown University, where I held a faculty fellowship in the fall of 2012. I thank Bradley Sekedat for helping with the index.

Finally, some of the ideas presented in this book have been previously published elsewhere. An abbreviated section of [Chapter 3](#) on the Iron Age kingdom of Melid has been published in *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* [vol 24.1 (2011) 55–83], while a shorter version of [Chapter 4](#) appeared in *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental Research* [vol. 365 (2012) 53–77]. A shorter version of [Chapter 5](#) appeared in the volume *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman.

Preface

[Ninurta speaking]

Let my beloved city, the sanctuary Nibru, raise its head as high as
heaven!

Let my city be pre-eminent among the cities of my brothers!

Let my temple rise (?) the highest...among the temples of my
brothers!

Let the territory of my city be the freshwater well of Sumer!

Let the Anuna, my brother gods, bow down there!

Let their flying birds establish nests in my city!

Let their refugees refresh themselves in my shade.

“Ninurta's Return to Nibru,” lines 168–74 Black et al. [2006](#): 181–

One Introduction

Towns and cities with their monuments, vast constructions, and large buildings are set up for the masses and not for the few....If there are no cities, the dynasty will have to build a new city, firstly, in order to complete the civilization of its realm.

Ibn Khaldûn (1332–1406 AD) *Muqaddimah* (IV.1–2)

Many scholars writing about the politics of urban design discuss how planned capitals such as Ankara, Brasilia, and Islamabad are conceived, before everything else, as expressions of the pride and hard work of nation building and thus cannot possibly derive their image and character from an existing city. The less there is on site, the greater the pride and glory in making the capital “out of nothing” as a popular school song about Ankara goes in Turkey.

Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (2001: 68)

Cities, Imagination, and Memory in the Ancient Near East

This book investigates the practice of building cities in the ancient Near East as an architectural practice, a form of public celebration, and a source of political discourse. The idea of building a city is frequently found in the Near Eastern historical record as a political intervention of the ruling elite into structures of settlement and built landscapes. Sargon II, the Assyrian king of the late eighth century BCE, is famed for his foundation and construction of Dur-arrukh (“Fortress of Sargon”) at the site of modern Khorsabad, perhaps in emulation of his Akkadian namesake who founded Agade^{KI} in the late third millennium BCE. Equally famous is his impressive organization of the participation of several Assyrian provinces in the construction project, each with its own workmen and craftspeople (Parpola 1995). Likewise, Babylonian rulers Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II

refounded and constructed Babylon's impressive urban landscape in the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE, respectively, incorporating many innovations in architectural technologies (Van de Mieroop 2003). Similarly ambitious but perhaps less well known is the energetic Urartian king Rusa II's foundation of several new imperial fortresses across the empire in the first half of the seventh century BCE using a distinctive style of stonemasonry that linked them together and functioned as some sort of royal insignia (Harmanah 2009). The Cilician Syro-Hittite king Azatiwatas of Adanawa founded a fortress at today's Karatepe-Arslanta; like Sargon II and Rusa II, he named it after his own royal name, Azatiwataya, as known from the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the site (Hawkins 2000, I: I.1). Last but not least, the series of ceremonial capitals built by the Achaemenid kings at Pasargadae and Persepolis are perhaps among the most spectacular of such projects.

These randomly selected examples give us a taste of the geographical spread and cultural diversity of city-building practices in the Near Eastern Iron Ages from Babylonia to Anatolia and Iran. They not only help understand how new cities, imperial capitals, and regional centers were built, but also show how building cities was envisioned as a social event that then became part and parcel of the politics of kingship and the shaping of social memory at the time. Thinking more broadly, how did such a building practice and urban policy transform Near Eastern urban landscapes during the Iron Ages? What was the nature of these building programs, and how did they come to be associated with the political discourse and collective identity in such a direct way? Was the decision to build a city always a prerogative of the ruling elites as social utopias, or were these elites in fact conforming to ongoing settlement trends, tangible economic conjunctures, and other social processes that are less accessible, less visible to us in the historical record? As large-scale architectural projects, how were they organized in terms of labor force, material resources, and building craftsmanship? And how did these projects relate to the circulation of architectural knowledge and innovative building technologies?

In attempting to answer these questions in a regionally specific and historically nuanced way, this monograph is about the making of cities in a particular geographical region, the upper Syro-Mesopotamia during the Early Iron Age (c. 1200–850 BCE). The Early Iron Age can be envisioned as a prelude to the spectacular stories of urban development sampled earlier from the Middle and Late Iron Ages

(850–330 BCE). The Early Iron Age is the period when one sees several strands of settlement foundations materialize contemporaneously in the context of a newly emergent urbanism and geopolitical configuration following the collapse of the great powers of the Late Bronze Age around 1200 BCE. Upper Syro-Mesopotamia, which is now constituted by modern-day northern Iraq, southeastern Turkey, and northern Syria, was a region of thriving ancient cities during the Iron Age (Figure 1). In the east lay the core territories of the Assyrian Empire, and in the west and northwest a constellation of Syro-Hittite regional polities. Assyria was a major territorial state at this time, with a gradually urbanizing core in the Middle Tigris region and eventual expansion to lands in the west and south until its collapse in the late seventh century BCE. North Syria and southeast and south-central Turkey were home to many regional principalities that were based on one or two main urban centers and their hinterland. These polities are collectively known in the scholarly literature as Syro-Hittite states for their self-proclaimed cultural heritage of the Hittite Empire, which disintegrated around 1175 BCE (Hawkins 1982). Among the Assyrian Empire and the Syro-Hittite polities of the Early Iron Age, founding cities was a shared building practice, a source of official discourse and cultural identity, as has been abundantly demonstrated by both the archaeological evidence and the textual record (Mazzoni 1994). *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* is the first comprehensive account of this multivalent historical phenomenon from a comparative perspective. It presents a cultural history of the practice of founding cities by reviewing both ancient texts and archaeological excavations and surveys, along with environmental research and spatial analysis.

Building the City

The foundation of Assyrian and Syro-Hittite cities involved major construction projects and the making of commemorative monuments in the urban center while the surrounding countryside was cultivated with plantations and irrigation programs. These important social events were celebrated in the written and pictorial narratives of the state and became an important component of the official ideology, a practice shared by Upper Syro-Mesopotamian states. Palaces, temples, gates, and the public spaces of the Assyrian and Syro-Hittite cities were famously surrounded by carved stone orthostats (finely cut upright stones lining walls) and a variety of monuments featuring pictorial narratives and commemorative inscriptions. This book brings these architectural technologies, monument-making practices, and

urban visual culture of the Iron Age cities into a common focus and argues that the symbolically charged, regionally shared language of urban spaces was part and parcel of the processes by which collectively shared memories and cultural identities were made.

City foundations have long been discussed as short-term historical events and were associated with the agency of political elites or imperial power. Particularly the foundation of imperial cities and the movement of the political capitals to new locations are frequently discussed within the context of political history as if they were utopias of narcissistic rulers. The urban anthropological debate on the so-called disembedded capitals, which has been taking place since the early 1970s, is a good example of this approach. *Disembedded capitals* are newly built capital cities purposefully “disembedded” from existing patterns of political structure and settlement hierarchy within a territorial state in order to create a new power base (both political and military) for the benefit of a group of elites (Blanton 1976; Willey 1979). This culturally comparative notion is applied to ancient Near Eastern examples in both earlier (Joffe 1998a) and more recent (Yoffee 2005: 189) works. As a universalist model based on central place theory, it focuses only on imperial cities that are represented well in the historical record, such as Khorsabad and Nineveh, and offers causal explanations for historically specific political decisions to relocate and rebuild state capitals. However, in my opinion, the disembedded capitals thesis also literally disembeds the foundation of capital cities from the broader historical processes of landscape change, while divorcing urban economies from state ideologies and policy making. Additionally, the complexity of the production of urban space and its material, cultural, and technological aspects can find no place for itself in this debate.

In contrast, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* contextualizes urban foundations within longer-term settlement trends, landscape processes, and broader environmental histories that are not easily grasped through short-term perspectives. Adopting a long-term perspective allows understanding the dynamics of settlement and human mobility in landscapes. On a detailed level, the monograph is also concerned with the micro-history and the material culture of newly created urban landscapes: their innovative architectural technologies, newly established cult festivals, eloquent configurations of public spaces, and urban textures. Furthermore, it considers this historical phenomenon as a laboratory to test theories of space, landscape, narrative, and representation.

The idea of building a new city on fresh ground is often considered a generative force of civilized life for societies. The new city is assumed to feature a spatial realm that cultivates “a distinctive manner of life characterized as urban” (Wheatley 2001: 228). This manner of urbanity is brought out in the etymological relationship between *city* (Latin *civitas*) and *civilization* among the descendants of the Roman Empire, whereas such association is rendered in Arabic in a very similar way: *madna* and *madaniyya*.¹ Speaking from a cross-cultural point of view, then, urban life holds a symbolic image imbued with the ideals of economic prosperity, political stability, acculturation, and emerging social complexity. Ibn Khaldûn, as in the quotation at the beginning of the chapter, saw the foundation of cities as indispensable for the establishment of civilized life and the exercise of power.

In early Mesopotamian epic poetry, cities play a prominent role in social imagination and political narratives. In the epigraph to this book, in a few lines of the Sumerian literary composition “Ninurta's Return to Nibru,” the city Nibru (Nippur) is personified as a monument of divine power acting in the political sphere (Black et al. 2006: 181–186). Situated monumentally in a horizontal, earthly human domain (“*as if it were the horns of a wild bull*”), the city and its temples constitute the civilized social space where people congregate for benevolent festivals and take refuge in times of disorder (Harman ah, forthcoming).

The foundation of a new city was meant to materialize those ideals of power, prosperity, and civilization in physical form in the eyes of the political elite. As an act initiated by a dominant class, a city foundation carried signatures of power. Yet, following their creation, cities assumed their own path of development, their own cultural biography, and transformed by means of the material practices of those who inhabited them. This transformation could often mean a departure from the initial architectural desires of their founders. The project of *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* is to address the making of cities as a negotiated, dialectic process. On the one hand are the representations of urban ideals, politics of urbanization, and monumental construction – in other words, the work of the political elite. On the other hand are the traces and residues of the material practices that served as a different form of spatial production. Understanding the negotiation of, and the dialectic

between, these two processes in the long term is essential to the study of urban form. The problem of the urban ideals surfaces heavily in the textual and historical record, whereas the traces and residues in everyday spaces are largely accessible through the archaeological record (Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins 1999: xiv–xv). For these reasons, this book aims to establish a balance between macro- and micro-perspectives, the historical and the archaeological, even though sometimes they may seem to be at odds with one another. The reconciliation between the two, however, is possible through a critical reading of our sources and discussing openly the problem of historical representation.

Widely found in a variety of geographies throughout the history of human settlement, the founding of cities was an important place- and space-generating social activity and settlement strategy. In the ancient world, from Phoenician and Greek colonies in the Mediterranean world to Akhenaten's city at Tell el Amarna, from Alexander the Great's new cities and military colonies to Augustan foundations in Rome's provinces, the practice is well known in the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world. During periods of takeover of territories, the worlds of early Islam and medieval Europe became peppered with newly constructed towns (Kostof 1991, 1992; Wheatley 2001). City foundations were often set in previously desolate, uncultivated, or abandoned landscapes (“out of nothing”), and usually involved a monumental social undertaking. Large-scale building programs aimed at the planning and initiation of the rapid construction of an architectural urban core. Perhaps more significantly, these programs also involved the transformation of entire landscapes in the periphery of new cities, when the countryside was cultivated and structured to serve as an urban hinterland. Even though these city foundations appear in the historical record as short-term events at chosen locations, it is my contention that they were also always part of long-term settlement processes. Whereas the political decisions of the ruling elite find voice in the historical record that is preserved in monumental inscriptions and other written documents, the long-term processes of landscape change are harder to pin down. Archaeological research with its diachronic perspective on the deep history of landscapes is better suited to explore these processes and their possible connections to the city foundation events.

Cities, Landscape, and the Long Term

In the Near Eastern historical record, urban foundations were usually

accompanied by political rhetoric describing elite patronage and displayed in public monuments. This political rhetoric is a discourse that linked the military and economic accomplishments of imperial power to building operations and similar public benefactions in a causal relationship. Public benefactions involved in urban foundations were the erection of monuments and dedicatory statues, hosting public feasts, and establishing new festivals. This narrativizing discourse that connects military campaigns to building projects extends back to the early historical inscriptions from the Akkadian kingdom of the late third millennium BCE (Studevent-Hickman and Morgan 2006). The narrative connection of this political discourse is emphasized, especially, if the new city was to become a governmental or ceremonial center, such as the city of Agade founded by the Akkadian king Sargon, according to literary and historical texts (Van de Mieroop 1999a). The foundation of the capital city Agade, the location of which remains unknown, marked Sargon's establishment of his power in the southern Mesopotamian plains and was directly linked to the success of Akkadian military apparatus (Wall-Romana 1990: 208). In an Akkadian inscription of Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari (1810–1794 BCE) – inscribed on bricks of the foundation of ama Temple at Mari – the king's destruction of enemy fortresses and lands and his cutting of trees from “the mountains of cedar and boxwood” are juxtaposed with the king's raising of monuments and building of temples (van Koppen 2006: 96–98). The commemorative monuments of the Neo-Assyrian and Syro-Hittite cities that are discussed in this book represent perhaps one of the most complex examples of such narrativization in Near Eastern history.

Founding royal cities therefore emerged as a political strategy of the imperial power and a stage for the spectacles of the state. The geographical displacement of the political urban center was a transformative moment in the history of any regional polity, signaling an innovative shift in settlement structure. This was accompanied by the building of new provincial centers and frontier fortresses that restructured the frontier zones and adjacent territories contested by territorial states and regional polities.² New cities helped structure the organization of land for agricultural production with intensified cultivation through, for example, the introduction of irrigation systems. New ports of trade challenged the existing networks of interregional connectivity.³ Urban construction projects hosted innovative and symbolically charged architectural and artisanal technologies. Successful or unsuccessful in the long run, short-lived or long-term, the new settlements “assemble[d] a world” around them;⁴ they re-presented a new world order to their makers and subjects,

substantially transformed their immediate human environment, and altered the hierarchy of relationships in the world into which they were incorporated.

The textual accounts of city foundations in commemorative inscriptions and annalistic texts describe building projects as accomplishments of the ruling elite and fashion a narrative discourse referred to earlier as royal rhetoric. Pictorial narratives displayed on commemorative monuments in urban or rural contexts contribute to the communication of this rhetoric in all its permutations (Winter 1981a). The archaeological evidence for the construction of cities is not always commensurate with this visual and textual rhetoric of city foundations; therefore, it is important to illustrate both the overlap and the discrepancies between the processes of urban formation and their political representation. The second objective of this book is to compare just how the foundation of cities was represented in the textual, visual, and material records. The present approach pays attention to both physical and representational aspects of the practice of founding cities, both the practice on the ground and its political imagination. Consequently the book treats how cities were architecturally constructed, and it is equally occupied with the political and social processes of constructing meaning that are associated with those architectural practices.

Urban foundations are attested during various periods of Near Eastern history from the first cities of southern Mesopotamia onward, but *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* focuses on the Upper Syro-Mesopotamian polities of the Early Iron Age (c. 1200–850 BCE), for which there is a wealth of textual and archaeological evidence on the processes of urbanization. The approach is regional and compares the early Neo-Assyrian Empire in the Middle and Upper Tigris basins with the Syro-Hittite regional polities of northern Syria and southern and southeastern Turkey (Figure 1). This broad geographical region had a shared material culture that linked the contemporaneous Assyrian and Urartian territorial states, as well as the Luwian-, Aramaean-, and Phoenician-speaking Syro-Hittite regional polities. The Urartian state is not included in this book for the simple reason that it focuses on the Early Iron Age, whereas the main florescence of the Urartian state only takes place after the ninth century BCE, even though Urartian architectural practices and urban foundations were very much part and parcel of this shared world. This world was founded on the long-term structures inherited from the Hittite and Assyrian empires of the Late Bronze Age, and developed

throughout the Iron Age. The transition from the world of the Late Bronze Age empires to the fragmented polities of the Early Iron Age is a principal focus of Chapters 3 and 4. In those two chapters, the circulation of architectural knowledge and city-building practices are argued to participate in the processes of regional cultural change. Rather than presenting a comprehensive survey of Near Eastern cities built during the Iron Ages, this book inquires about the common and wide-ranging underpinnings of the practice of establishing cities through the analysis of case studies.

What initially motivated this project was the striking similarity among the statements about urban construction and the cultivation of landscapes in Assyrian, Urartian, and Syro-Hittite commemorative monuments. Equally striking was that such parallels had never been thoroughly investigated in the scholarly literature. My synthesis of archaeological and textual evidence suggests that urban construction projects were not only a pervasive architectural practice in the Early Iron Age, but were also dominant in the royal rhetoric, perhaps only second to the report of military accomplishments. This synthesis fostered an understanding of how building cities, writing inscriptions, raising public monuments, and planting orchards all emerged contemporaneously.

It is necessary in this synthesis to be sensitive to the nature of the evidence from macro to micro scales, and approaching city foundations required me to work in three different spatial and temporal scales:

- long-term processes of landscape change and settlement history;
- production of urban space through large-scale building projects;
- the development of symbolically charged architectural technologies.

These three scales of analysis make it possible to draw on a variety of evidence without necessarily assuming their correspondence. Long-term processes are revealed by survey archaeology and environmental research, whereas investigating urban histories makes use of published excavations, historical texts, and the monuments of the city. Especially those two bodies of evidence drawn from historical and archaeological records tend to balance each other between political representations

and cultural practices, between ideologies and realities of the material world. Finally, fine-tuned fieldwork on architectural technologies such as quarrying and stone-carving techniques allows one to reconsider the cityscapes through their fabric of materials and technologies, surfaces and textures. This brings the discussion down to a very concrete aspect of city-building practices, its nuts and bolts within the building scale, while connecting the discussion to building craftsmen, technological knowledge, and the spaces of the everyday.

The multi-scaled approach also demands theoretical and methodological grounding in multiple fields. Through the incorporation of contemporary critical approaches to landscape, urbanization, architectural space, and material culture, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* develops an understanding of the nature of space-producing activities in and around cities. Official texts from the Iron Age capital cities present a particularly urban-centered perspective with emphasis on the large-scale projects and their politically charged context. However, after considering long-term settlement history, city foundations emerge not completely confined to the construction of imperial capitals. They are connected to much broader settlement trends, and equally attested on the scale of villages, farmsteads, frontier fortresses, and regional centers. Additionally, my analysis of architectural technologies supports this view by demonstrating that the ubiquitous carved orthostat programs of the Iron Age cities should be understood in a diachronic perspective rather than purely as a short-term innovation, as has long been assumed.

City foundations were festive events where performative spectacles of the state took place in the form of commemorations and feasting. These festive occasions acted as the stage for redefining the society's relationship with the past. Construction projects involved the making of urban spaces that presented visual and textual narratives of the state through the erection of a constellation of commemorative monuments in the urban center. This was partly accomplished through the technique of raising stone orthostats, "obelisks," and stelae with narrative relief programs in public places. The orthostat technique became a common practice among the Early Iron Age cities. As a technological style and architectural aesthetic in the urban landscape, the orthostats themselves acted as material manifestations of elite ideology. In conclusion, the three scales of analysis from the study of long-term landscape processes to the discussion of city foundations as short-term events and finally the documentation of specific innovative

architectural technologies, each contribute to understanding the practice of founding cities as a historically distinct phenomenon during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in upper Syro-Mesopotamia.

The Structure of the Book

The historical problem of city foundations in this region lies at the heart of the present work. The next two chapters investigate landscape processes associated with the foundation of new urban settlements and regional landscape transformations in the territory of new cities during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition. The city foundation projects of Assyrian and Syro-Hittite rulers during this transition were much more ambitious than the physical construction of a city. The royal rhetoric expressed in monumental inscriptions and visual representations included a program of landscape cultivation with large-scale irrigation networks, plantations, and the settlement of populations. This rhetoric was put on public display through the construction of commemorative monuments that perpetually reimagined urban spaces and imperial landscapes. Commemorative monuments such as the Hittite, Late Hittite, and Assyrian rock reliefs and stelae demarcated contested territories and created an imagined map of imperial landscapes. My focus on broad landscape processes leads me to suggest that the construction of cities, erection of commemorative monuments, resettlement of the abandoned countryside, and cultivation of landscapes were components of what I call *spatialized narratives* of the state. The political landscapes became *cultural artifacts* that represented the utopian ideals of the governing elites on the one hand and attempted to construct an image of ecological prosperity in the collective imagination on the other.

Both Chapters 2 and 3 rely extensively on archaeological evidence from upper Mesopotamian regional surveys. This evidence is then juxtaposed with the well-known cases of urban foundations in specific regional contexts. In [Chapter 2](#), the gradual southward shift of the geopolitical center of the Hittite Empire and its eventual collapse at the end of the Late Bronze Age are discussed. As a case study to illustrate the emergent urbanism of Syro-Hittite states following this collapse, a detailed analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the formation of the regional state Malizi/Melid is presented. This kingdom established itself in the Malatya-Elbistan Plains in eastern Turkey during the first centuries of the Early Iron Age as one of the earliest political entities to emerge from the ashes of

the Hittite Empire. Monuments raised by Malizean “country lords” in rural and urban contexts suggest a picture of a fluid landscape in transition, one that was configured through the construction of cities and other practices of place-making.

Similar to the mobility in Hittite political landscapes in [Chapter 2](#), [Chapter 3](#) investigates the transformation of Assyrian landscapes during the late second and early first millennia BCE, as part of the broader processes of settlement change in upper Mesopotamia. From the late fourteenth century BCE onward, the geographical core and the political center of power was designated as the “Land of Aur” in Assyrian royal inscriptions, and over the course of several centuries, this Land of Aur gradually shifted northward, from the limited hinterland of the city of Aur in the Middle Tigris region to the well-watered and resource-rich landscapes around the confluence of the Tigris and the Upper and Lower Zap rivers. Furthermore, landscapes of the Upper Tigris basin and the Jazira witnessed extensive settlement and cultivation as Assyrian provinces and frontiers. The chapter presents how the making of Assyrian landscapes involved founding of cities, large-scale building programs, construction of irrigation canals, planting of orchards, opening of new quarries, and sometimes settlement of populations.

In [Chapter 4](#), the discussion shifts to the urban-level building projects and explores these projects as a social performance and festive event. Large-scale building projects can be understood as events that disrupt the social life in ways analogous to public festivals in many ways. Building projects became public spectacles of the state and politicized stages where the royal rhetoric was materialized in the form of monuments and commemorative practices. These projects included architectural technologies and commemorative monuments such as the *narû* monuments (stelae and obelisks), orthostat programs, ancestor statues, and gate sculpture that were erected in public spaces and featured dynastic narratives of historical events in textual and pictorial form. Gradually defined by such monuments, urban landscapes were ritualized and ceremonialized through the institution of cult practices and annual festivals associated with the monuments. The implementation of these building projects reimaged social memories and identities. The royal rhetoric, therefore, created its own narratives of history and attempted to shape public spaces through specific architectural technologies employed in large-scale building programs.

The focus in [Chapter 4](#) is on two major building projects: the ninth-century BCE Assyrian king Aur-nasir-pal II's foundation of his royal city at Kalhu and the extensive building program of the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty at Karkami in tenth and early ninth centuries BCE. Under the roughly contemporaneous Early Iron Age kings of Kalhu and Karkami, their two cities witnessed comprehensive architectural renewal programs that transformed their public spaces through the construction of a constellation of commemorative monuments including round-topped stelae, obelisks, inscribed statuary, rock reliefs, and orthostat relief programs. Likewise, in both cities, cultic ceremonies and state spectacles effectively reshaped these public areas and, through their performance, endowed their urban landscapes with a dramatic geography. The concept of spatial narratives is introduced here to discuss the process of the making of urban spaces through the narrativization of space, which was made possible by the gradual introduction of state monuments that visually and textually communicated endlessly adjusted and edited versions of the past to the imagination of the society.

[Chapter 5](#) explores the regionally shared architectural technologies employed in Early Iron Age cities. The major contribution of this section is to suggest that the large-scale building projects were hubs for the transfer of architectural knowledge and other technologies. One of the distinctive architectural technologies of the Early Iron Age forms the core of the discussion: the finely worked stone masonry and the raising of orthostats in Assyrian and Syro-Hittite public monuments. Based on archaeological and textual evidence, I propose that orthostats were first attested at northern Syrian sites such as Tell Mardikh and Tilmen Höyük in the first half of the second millennium BCE. As a regional architectural practice, orthostats were initially developed to consolidate mudbrick walls against the effects of weathering, especially erosion caused by rain, wind, and other forms of physical damage. Using this technique of wall-cladding, Near Eastern craftsmen continuously improved the architectonic qualities of building surfaces, while the orthostats acquired the status of a prestigious architectural technology and were explicitly discussed in Assyrian and Luwian monumental inscriptions.

The transformation of orthostats into fields of pictorial representation erected in public spaces was an innovation of the craftsmen of Syro-Mesopotamia and Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition. In Syro-Hittite and Assyrian cities, pictorial narrative programs of the ruling elite appeared

contemporaneously and on a massive scale. These pictorial programs introduced highly animated wall surfaces across public spaces. The cult-centered programs of the Late Bronze Age temples and city gates were now accompanied by commemorative inscriptions and ideological narratives of the state that transformed the urban spaces into ceremonial places for the spectacles of the state and the construction of new dynastic identities.

Architectural historian Kenneth Frampton's (1990, 1995) idea of *architectonic expression* as a localized poetics of construction as well as the contemporary archaeological/art-historical discourse on *material style*, *technological style*, and *facture* influenced the theoretical framework of this chapter. Architectonics refers to the material aspect of buildings that derives from structural probity (uprightness) as well as the tactile qualities of building materials and construction techniques. More generally, this field attempts to bridge the gap between the cultural artifact and its making. Likewise, architecture may not be dissociated from the technologies of its making. In this way, the built environment is textured with a culturally meaningful architectonic expression, achieved through complex processes of craft production. The historical and social contexts of city foundations were precisely where such symbolically laden technologies were experimented with; the sites of the building projects became sites of material elaboration.

The concluding chapter revisits all three scales of discussion and reflects on theoretical issues of space, cultural representation, and social practice in an attempt to elucidate how the new and rebuilt cities in the ancient Near East contribute to the interdisciplinary discussion of such issues. Likewise, the book as a whole contributes broadly the interpretative theories of architectural space from the perspective of premodern, preindustrial, and non-Western cultures. The study of architectural spaces of the ancient world is heavily conditioned by modernity and its concepts of space. In the modernist discourse of architectural criticism, architectural space is often objectified, presented as a visual or perceptual fetish, and becomes a commodity in the capitalist system. The nineteenth-century (predominantly German) discourse on architecture produced the concept of architectural space as an aesthetic and formal category on its own. Evaluated through the perceptual experience, space was studied in psychological terms and conceived as a realm of empathy (*Einfühlung*) between architecture's formal aspects and human perception. In this way, architectural space is gradually dissociated

from its social relationships of production and treated as a *thing-in-itself* as if it could be analyzed as “a work of art” independent of the spatial practices and historical processes that bring it to existence. This abstract and formalist understanding of space is now embedded in our articulations of contemporary architectural history, and inevitably impacts the interpretation of architecture and urban space in the other fields of social sciences and humanities as well. The study of the architectural spaces of antiquity likewise suffers from anachronistic applications of these modern concepts of space to ancient built environments. In particular, the modernist assumption that architectural space is always designed professionally often surfaces in archaeological interpretations of space. These assumptions about architecture deny that building activity is a cultural process and that space is a social product. Similarly, it disregards the *real* social relations behind production of space. Lastly, it neglects practices that physically and cognitively transform space in the aftermath of the construction project.

The foundation of cities as an intentional act of spatial production offers us an example of a curious historical event where various social agencies are at work, from political actors such as royal patrons of building projects, to building craftsmen and their overseers, all the way down to the ordinary citizens whose everyday practices transform the shape and meaning of spaces. Contrary to the accepted understanding of city foundations solely as the consequence of ideologically driven decisions of the political elite, *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* suggests that this understanding derives from official historical sources that are dominated by the royal rhetoric of the ruling class. Secondly, this understanding assumes modernist understanding of spatial production. When the various archaeological, environmental, pictorial, and textual evidence is weighed as a whole, the social complexity of urban foundations necessarily emerges. Likewise, the seemingly short-term political event of city founding appears as a product of long-term settlement processes, landscape structures, and sustained cultural practices. Cities can get built in a matter of a few years, but they are only possible through the employment of accumulated knowledge of regional building traditions. Buildings can rise to the sky seemingly overnight, but they are only made meaningful through the human engagements with their spaces and surfaces. The ruling elite might stand behind major historic decisions, but they themselves owe their positions to much longer-term social processes and historical contingencies. These are the stories I tell in this book.



1 Map of Upper Mesopotamia during the Iron Age, with cities, settlements, and sites mentioned in the text. (Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief, World Linear Water)

Two Landscapes of Changecities, politics, and memory

...[T]he study of landscape is much more than an academic exercise – it is about the complexity of people's lives, historical contingency, contestation, motion and change....If...we broaden the idea of landscape and understand it to be the way in which people – all people – understand and engage with the material world around them, and if we recognize that people's being-in-the-world is always historically and spatially contingent, it becomes clear that landscapes are always in process, potentially conflicted, untidy and uneasy.

Barbara Bender 2001: 2–3

Like other forms of material culture, landscape has the potential to broaden the scope of historical enquiry beyond those persons who had the skill and power to leave a written record. Although some landscapes may reveal a singular vision, of a designer or patron, for example, most are touched in some way by a wide variety of human endeavor, encompassing the difference as well as the commonality of a particular society over time.

Marina Moskowitz 2009: 71

Introduction: Cities and Moving Landscapes

“Abandoned cities, which during the time of my fathers had turned into ruined hills, I took in hand for renovation [and] settled therein many people,” announces Ar-nasir-apli II, the ninth-century BCE Assyrian king. He continues, “ancient palaces throughout my land I built anew. I decorated them in a splendid fashion [and] stored grain and straw in them.”¹ Upper Mesopotamian and Anatolian states of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages took special interest in engaging with their environment and transforming their landscapes through large-

scale building operations – from the foundation of new cities and the plantation of orchards, to the construction of irrigation systems and the carving of rock reliefs. Ar-nasir-apli's statement at the beginning of this paragraph does not refer to one particular building project but articulates a comprehensive landscape policy intended to transform the built environment he had inherited. His rhetoric evokes an ancestral topography of monuments that he plans to restore. Through his landscape projects and rhetoric of kingship, the “king was actively engaged in the construction of social memory” as Ruth Van Dyke and Sue Alcock (2003:1) put it when discussing memory practices of Near Eastern rulers.

In the historical record, the representation of upper Mesopotamian landscapes is dominated by spectacular accounts of urbanization and the fluorescence of urban life, evident in the legendary stories of cities like Assyrian Nnuwa, Urartian Tupa, and the Syro-Hittite Karkami. Monumental inscriptions from these states refer repeatedly to the cultivation of uncivilized landscapes through the foundation of cities and present an urban-centered discourse of state ideology. Prosperity of the state in those records is strikingly tied to the necessity of such “civilizing” processes: the building, cultivation, and irrigation of newly colonized territories.

Near Eastern archaeology's century and a half investment of labor in excavating large settlements for their rich assemblages of prestige artifacts, archives of texts, and monumental architecture has only reinforced this dominant image of the city. Just as Barbara Bender and Marina Moskowitz state in this chapter's opening epigraphs, however, archaeological landscapes have different stories to tell, and those stories extend well beyond the grand projects of construction and political interventions in the environment. Landscapes are “inherently dynamic and historically sensitive” from their hold on material memories, the subtle residues of long-term human practices, events, and political conflicts, as well as layers of cultural imagination and story-telling (Alcock 1993:7; see also Bender 2006). If landscapes are fluid and intractable, richly textured and layered, as most thinkers of landscape and place would argue today, limiting the agency to transform landscapes solely to political actors needs to be questioned. This, by no means, denies the place and efficacy of the imperial building projects in the landscape, but my objective is to emphasize the necessity of putting these projects in the context of longer-term settlement trends and environmental change. Michael Jackson reminds us, citing Karl Marx, “men make their history, but they do not

make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under the circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past” (Marx 1934:10; cited in Jackson 2007:23). More radically, history “is an endless new chain of happenings whose eventual outcome the actor is utterly incapable of knowing or controlling beforehand” (Arendt 1958:59–60; cited in Jackson 2007:23).

Equipped with the field methods of intensive and extensive survey, contemporary approaches to landscape archaeology have flourished in the last several decades and provided us with the archaeological tools for understanding the history of Near Eastern landscapes (Cherry 2003; Alcock and Cherry 2004; Wilkinson 2003; Wilkinson, Ur and Casana 2004). This chapter discusses urban foundations of the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the context of environmental and settlement histories derived from this landscape archaeology. It brings together the environmental, archaeological, art historical, and textual evidence to understand new cities as a component of long-term processes of landscape transformation. Understanding a historical practice, such as city foundations, demands that we *critically* consider both material practices and their representation in textual records and visual culture. In the next section, I discuss the political representations of the practice of founding cities and analyze how architectural projects are incorporated into the official discourse of the state. Following this broader evaluation of textual accounts, recent developments in landscape archaeology and theory are presented to set the grounds for a critical analysis of upper Mesopotamian landscapes of settlement. The evidence from recent archaeological survey work in upper Mesopotamia offers us regionally specific processes of settlement change from the urbanized and trade-oriented world of the Late Bronze Age to the dispersed and rural country life in the Early Iron Age (Table 1 and Figure 2). The second half of the chapter then turns to the early processes of urbanization among the Syro-Hittite polities – from the gradual collapse of the Hittite Empire in Anatolia with the southward shift of its geo-political core in the thirteenth century BCE, to the reconfiguration of the political and cultural geography of south central and southeastern Turkey and northern Syria with the construction of new cities. Finally, I present archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the formation of the regional state Malizi/Melid in the Malatya-Elbistan Plains during the first centuries of the Early Iron Age. The monuments raised by Malizean “country lords” in

rural and urban contexts suggest a picture of a fluid landscape in transition, one that was configured through the construction of cities and other practices of place-making.

Table 1. Main archaeological regional survey projects in Upper Mesopotamia: the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age transition.

Project and area (survey universes)	Publication	Methodology	Late Bronze – Early Iron transition
Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, SE Turkey 1988–1991 Upper Tigris region valley basins, SE Turkey Subproject 1: Batman Su/Tigris basin from Samsat to Bismil, 2. Çiçek-Silopi plain, 3. Tigris basin N of Çiçek, 4. Batman Su basin, 5. Çarşat Su basin.	Algaze 1989, Algaze et al. 1991, Rosenburg et al. 1991, Parker 2001a.	Varying but usually non-intensive, occasional, but increased to smaller, usually flat, single-period sites as much as multi-period tells. Spotting walking surveys around major sites.	In Batman Su, MB is largely absent, LB difficult to recognize; some a total of Tigris zone, Babur zone, but also some distinctive Middle Assyrian. TA sites are widely recognized, especially a walled Ziyaret Tepe. Çarşat Su basin also has several agglutinated sites on river terrace and hilltops, a total of 15 TA sites were identified, 12 of which were c.1 ka and only 3 dates in the 1–3 ka range. In Batman River valley, 8 sites were identified as TA, as opposed to no TA sites. South in Çiçek-Silopi plain Mutacian-Middle Assyrian is characteristically absent; some sites are identified to the early second millennium, which dates to 16 sites for the TA (Middle/Middle Assyrian, 1400–1000 BC), all of which are small villages. Settlements flourish in the TA (38 sites), domestic settlement after Old Assyrian peak. Settlements cluster around seasonal Şark Dere. Silopi Höyük at the foothills of Mt.Cudi, Nearw. Hittite, Tukyan Höyük, Basmal Höyük on Şark Dere, grow into large sites in the IA, with wall enclosures and functioning as regional centres for distant enrichment areas. There is a complete settlement continuity at the sites occupied in the LBA. Twenty-eight new settlements were founded (79% of all settlements). Takyaa Höyük is the only large settlement newly founded, all other foundations are villages, hamlets, or farmsteads.
Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, SE Turkey 1988–1991 Euphrates basin, S Turkey (Birecik-Carchemish dam area).	Algaze et al. 1991, Algaze et al. 1995, See also Moreau-Renard 2000: 105–108	Mixed: mostly vehicular but also intensive sampling. Trained walking around major mounds, wash bottoms, and perennial water sources to identify dependent rural settlements	LBA is rarely absent except for Karakum (off road) and Çarşat Höyük (LBA et al. 1991, 1994), suggest a heavy concentration of settlement in Karakum, and the three-tiered settlement hierarchy of late third or early second millennium BC is absent in LBA. Early TA is not well represented. For this period, it seems that the local assemblage was not recognized by the survey team because of a lack of comparative sample. For the early MBA, the area is densely settled (16 sites), identified from Late Assyrian ceramics. MB and LBA was not distinguished separately in the pottery sequence. There is generally an overall increase in the number of sites from MB/BA to IA, with LB, Malatya-Harşit area and Urfa-Ardahan plain, and Çarşat mountain. The only table appears to be small scale sites across the region in the TA.
Lower Euphrates Basin, E Turkey. Dam survey survey, 1997 Malatya and Harşit region Euphrates basin, mountainous area S of Malatya, Urfa-Ardahan plains.	Özdoğan 1977.	Mixed: mainly vehicular and site-based, but with spot walking intensive surveys.	MB and LBA was not distinguished separately in the pottery sequence. There is generally an overall increase in the number of sites from MB/BA to IA, with LB, Malatya-Harşit area and Urfa-Ardahan plain, and Çarşat mountain. The only table appears to be small scale sites across the region in the TA.
Ardahan Survey, SE Turkey 1985–1988 Upper 'Dükkacı', Euphrates, to the vicinity of Tille Höyük. Euphrates valley confluence from Samsat, a triangular area above the confluence of Kizilirmaci and Tuzlular, Güllüce basin, Keşan-Kizilirmaci plain, Resat plain	Baybekt, French and Summers 1990	Vehicular and mostly extensive. Intensive field walking only in selected limited areas.	The area is densely inhabited in the EBA (16 sites) but no Middle or LBA sites were identified. Historically, they fell into the Early IA. No Hittite kingdom Kummuh. The IA pottery is identified by the stratigraphic sequence from Tille Höyük. Early IA, twelfth to tenth centuries BC, Middle IA, the independent kingdom of Kummuh (tenth to eighth centuries BC); Late IA. Neo-Assyrian levels seventh century BC. The occupation of the settlement pattern in the IA is not given in the report.
Western Jazira Archaeological Landscape Project: Balih Valley, N Syria 1983, 1992–1993 Balih valley basin from near Raqqa and the confluence of the Balih with the Euphrates up to the Turkish border on the N.	Akkermann 1984, Wilkinson 1986a and 1990b, Lyon 2000.	Akkermann's 1983 survey was based on satellite images and aerial photographs and their vehicular ground-truthing. Small scale of low mound were missed. Later, intensive walking surveys along the river basin by Wilkinson, Lyon, and other identified more sites. Lyon's work concentrated on identifying late second millennium sites using Tell Sabi Abyad diagnostic 'Middle Assyrian' wares.	The EBA and MBA are marked by the existence of settlements not exceeding 15 ha. Starting with the TBA, and especially in the IA, there was an increase in widespread dispersal of settlement away from the nucleated centres. The urban center at Hamur or Tu-Haman declined in the LBA, abandoned around 1350 BC, and is replaced by the adjacent above settlement at Tell Sabi Abyad. In the S part of the valley (S of Tell Zikri), Balih Survey 1521 IA settlements clustered along the river, while in the N, settlements were sited 500 m away from the river. The Bronze Age-Iron Age transition was periodized by Lyon, based on Tell Hammam or Tukman and Tell Sabi Abyad excavations. Balih VII: early second millennium (Hammam VIIA, Hammam VLB/Tel. B), Tuzlular and Harşit important mounds, 30 sites, A7, site size 2.78 ha (range 25–0.3 ha), 143 ha aggregate site area, Balih VIIIA, 1430–1300 BC (Hammam VIIIA, Sabi Abyad, M. tan al. 41 sites, A7, site size 2.37 ha (range 11–0.3 ha), 940 ha aggregate site area.

(continued)

Project and area (survey universe)	Publication	Methodology	Late Bronze – Early Iron transition
			area. No visible thinning of existing settlement pattern, especially in the disappearance of small sites. Settlement structure remains same. Tell M ₁ occurred in 11 ha is still the main site. Balh VIIIb: 1300–1100 BC (phase 1001.3) Sub-Aryan? Middle Assyrian? Only 6 sites. Range 8–1.1 ha. Concentration around Hamman in Turkman area. Collapse of settlement 60% of the VIIA settlements are abandoned.
Tell M ₁ Suezhat area, N Syria. E bank of the Euphrates, upper part of the Taurus Dam Salvage project.	Witzmoser 1995	Intensive	Balh IX: 900 BC : 41 sites. At least 37 new sites are founded forming 90% of the total number of sites. A dispersed and rural pattern is established. Many new foundations of small sites are evident, illustrating a shift/extension from LBA sites and occasional discontinuity. In the EBA and LBA, the area of Tell M ₁ Suezhat saw a gradual decline in the LBA. Settlement is limited to large strongholds like Tell M ₁ Suezhat, Tell Haddad and Al-Qina, which collapses at the end of the Bronze age. In the IA, in the limited centres of Tell M ₁ Suezhat plain, at least 5 newly founded small, flat, low settlements are attested at new locations, possibly villages, hamlets, or farmsteads, and all are at isolated beyond the former limit of cultivation (marginal areas). WI I/II are referred to the IA remains at these sites as "genetic."
Umm el-Mara Project, Jabhal Plain, NW Syria 1996 Central and Eastern Jabhal plain in NW Syria, W. of Aleppo, in the area of Tell Umm el-Mara. From Hephata University – University of Amsterdam Project. Series of Nahal al-Habish in the edge of Euphrates valley. S. Jabhal Lix, and N. low hills bordering the Jabhal plain.	Schwartz et al. 2000.	Extensive and vehicular, site based. Off-site survey was limited, to areas around identified sites.	After a period of abandonment in the early second millennium BC, 33 Middle Bronze Age sites were identified, most of which (22) were settled on top of Euphrates. M3T is more pronounced, with Umm el-Mara being the largest settlement in the region. LBA, 1800–1200 BC) was a considerably reduction in the settlement (11 sites). Umm el-Mara is still extensively occupied, while the steppe to the E of the site is no longer settled. Archaeologists suggest increasing pastoralism for the IA. At sites were identified, a vast majority of which were less than 1 ha, and only two sites in the range of 3–4 ha on lower Nahal al-Habish, S. of Umm el-Mara. Umm el-Mara is abandoned, while a new large center emerges to take its place.
Amuq Valley Regional Project, SE Turkey 1992–1998–1999–2000. Amuq valley in the region of Tell Atchana, Adana, defined by Amuq and Taurus ranges to the W and N. Three major rivers: Euphrates, Taurus, and the T. Amuq rain fall 300–700 mm.	Braidwood 1937, Yener et al. 2000, Hansen 2002, Press 2002.	Braidwood survey: source-based, with soundings for stratified sampling. Yener et al. intensive, full coverage survey with off-site surveys as transect walking. Yener picks up both diagnostic and body cores and roof tiles collected. Body sherds counted and destroyed. Recently drained Lake of Antioch (Atak Gölü) also surveyed. Detailed geoarchaeological work. Pollen cores were taken from the lake sediments. Stratigraphic control by excavations Tell al-Judaiah and Tell Karde.	Braidwood survey recorded 178 sites, all visible mounds, some of which were excavated (AS1–AS 78). The recent survey reached AS237, even though some of the areas formerly surveyed by Braidwood are now in Syria. They were, therefore, not surveyed (23 sites). According to the preliminary results, from Chalcolithic to MIA, settlement density increases in the Amuq plain with a sharp decrease in the LBA. The number of sites reaches earlier levels in the IA, while the lowest settlement is Bronze and Islamic periods, when approximately 50% of the sites were occupied. Sites cluster around Karde, Antioch, and Isik. Affirm channels: four types of mounds (1) low and small (2) 0.5–1 ha, (3) small tells (2–5 m), (4) tall both tall and extensive and (5) extensive and low mounds (Tell Ta'yanat, Tell Hama, Tell Karde). Amuq seq. R/T: Middle Bronze Age. M: Late Bronze age. N: Early IA (1200–1000 BC) or Middle-Late IA (1000–500 BC). In Amuq K/L (MBA of seventh century to sixth century BC by textual evidence), largest site – Atchana – is 22 ha. Slightly higher number of sites and more widely distributed than EBA. Secondary towns are 4–9 ha, 5–10 km apart. Also very small settlements. In Amuq M/T (LBA) total 16 sites, major decline in number of sites and secondary settlements, with concentration in the S. Aegean imports and local imitations. In Amuq N, imitations of Aegean imports continue. In Amuq N/O: Few number of sites dominate (N 22, O 22 sites), with a strong concentration on the E and S valley. Seventy-four percent of all Amuq N/O sites are new foundations, whereas 75% of O sites are continuations from Amuq N. Atchana is destroyed in LBA and never recovers. Other LBA sites continue. Three important settlements: Tell Ta'yanat, Qatal Ilyatik, and Jebelab are located on the S edge of the valley. Ta'yanat is settled in Early Bronze Age (Amuq II–IV), then Atchana in Middle and Late BA (Amuq V–VI), and then Ta'yanat in the IA (Amuq VII).
Wadi Ajl survey, N. Syria. E of Lower Euphrates. Wadi Ajl is a semiarid depression (approximately 120 mm annual rainfall). Marginal landscape. This is the route that connected Assyria to the Taurus Taurus to the East.	Bernbeck 1993; Bernbeck 1999b; see also Karadag, Bonacini 2000: 366–371.	Intensive.	Middle Assyrian, is only represented by 1 site (Umm al-Qurayb). The Neo-Assyrian settlement starts in the third century BC (Phase A) settlement and has a dramatic increase through the eighth (Phase B) and seventh centuries (Phase C), with 12 and 19 settlements, respectively. In Phase 3, Site 15 (Umm al-Qurayb) is founded and a series of small sites cluster around it. A four rank hierarchy of IA settlements were proposed: large towns (1), small towns (2), villages (3), hamlets (4).

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Project and area (survey universe)	Publication	Methodology	Late Bronze – Early Iron transition
Toblinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Lower Habur survey, NE Syria 1975–1977	W. Röllig and H. Kilian, <i>AAS 27–28</i> (1977–78): 115–140, <i>AAS 33</i> (1983): 187–199; H. Kilian <i>zG 25</i> (1974–75): 249–251; <i>AJO 26</i> (1978–1979): 581–193.	Mound based, vehicular.	In the LBA, this basin is a frontier zone between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian control. Tell Baidi on the upper section left (E) bank seems to be a Mitannian center while many other large sites have MA association, including large Shulish Hamad. Major irrigation canals along the Habur are introduced. In the Middle Assyrian period, in the thirteenth to eleventh centuries BC, very few sites are attested [9]. No settlements are observed S of Shulish Hamad, making Dar-Bulfinna a frontier stronghold in the S edge of the basin. LBA settlement was restricted to large sites (Röllig and Kilian 1983:194). Major centers of Hasaka, T'chen, 'Aqpa, Tadghum, and Shulish Hamad are regularly spread in the basin 20–40 km apart.
Lower Habur, NE Syria between the upper Hasaka in the North and Habur river's junction with the Euphrates near Dair ez Zur.	Fitzinger et al. 1988, <i>Mosad Barham</i> 1990a, 1990b and 2000. See also Barham 1990: 48–54.		In the eleventh to ninth centuries BC, pottery was not understood very well in this region at the time of the study of survey teams. Therefore, the Early (A) to Early Iron-Assyrian period settlement system cannot be reconstructed. This situation seems to be a product of the methodology and certainly more apparent than real (Königsd. Bonczosi 2000). König's map of 1300–1000 BC in the Lower Habur shows 3 provincial centers (10–15 ha sites: Shulish Hamad, Grom Aqshiva, and Aqpa), 2 towns (4–10 ha: Tadghum and T'chen), and 7 villages (2–6 ha). These are apparently the only visible mound sites. In the absence of full coverage/intensive survey, this pattern does not seem to be too reliable for the Early IA, known primarily as rural.
Tell Baidar Area, Upper Habur basin NE Syria 1997–1998 (The environs of Tell Baidar, Upper Habur basin, Wadi Azzurj)	Barham 1990; Wilkinson 2000.	Intensive.	In the Late Assyrian IA (the eighth century onwards), a proliferation of rural settlements and towns along the full course of the basin with a dense <i>azart</i> and a major canal. Fortresses seem to have been founded between (such as Tell Adh and Tell Abu Lamiq). 18 LBA sites were identified as opposed to 45 Iron sites. A total of 82 sites were surveyed. LBA depended on large tells that were open high (height range 15–27 m, area range 2–26 ha). The majority (62 sites) shows IA occupation. They are small, rural, secondary settlements (from 1–1 ha, with only one close to 1 ha, with 1–5 m height, scattered, with approximately one site per 5 km ²). 3 marginal settlements of semi-nomadic/transhumant populations, 2 undetermined. None of the large tells were occupied in the IA, while IA habitation is recorded adjacent to tell in the form of lower mounding or 26 sites. Sixteen of these lower town areas also showed LBA settlement suggesting this trend to abandon tall tells and descend to the plain had started in the LBA. Thirty (38%) of the IA sites were new foundations. The Tell Baidar area may still have functioned as the regional center but the knowledge was no longer so tied.
North Taurus Survey Project, NW Iraq 1986–1990 NW Iraq between the Syrian border to the W, Kh. Sijar to the S, and Tigris to the N and E. N of Tell Afar/Sijar plains.	Wilkinson and Tucker 1991; Wilkinson 1995	Intensive. Field survey at intervals, off-site survey, excavation at selected sites, ground-sounding of aerial and satellite images. Diagnostic pottery and small artifact pick-up on intensive ground sampling and off-site sampling of field stations along walking transects.	0 is founded and eighty-four sites were surveyed, with some comprising multiple mounds. The chronological sequencing of the Euphrat (Old Assyrian–Neo) (Mitannian) and Middle Assyrian periods is very precise, and the former is attributed to the early second millennium and the latter to the second millennium. Note that the Middle Assyrian landscape is marked by a significant thinning of settlement in general (decline in the number of sites from 43 to 38) and urban centers. Whereas the general structure of settlement seems to be continuous throughout the second millennium, off-site surveys provided very little evidence of Middle Assyrian activity in occupation to the abundance of Euphrat and Late Assyrian wares. In the Late Assyrian period, settlement becomes dispersed in the survey universe with an increase of sites from 28 to 78. Not all of these sites were contemporary, but gaps in the margins of MA activity are filled with new foundations. The large settlement of Tell al-Hawa of the third millennium (30–60 ha) is by now diminished to 7–15 ha, while the settlement gravely perhaps moved to other provincial capitals like Aqpa, Tille or even Nineveh. Field stations in the region suggest that there is intensive cultivation of the countryside in the IA.
(continued)			
Project and area (survey universe)	Publication	Methodology	Late Bronze – Early Iron transition
Al Qadisiya (Haditha) dam project, Middle Euphrates valley, W Iraq, 1978–1985 Iraqi Tawant Plains Region, Middle Euphrates, the land of Saba.	Abdul-Amir 1988. See also Barham 1990: 33–48.	Site-based but carried out in long duration of time, with the excavation of several of the major and minor sites.	Forty out of 82 of the surveyed sites show IA occupation, a large number of which were new foundations, and many sites continued to be occupied. Abdul-Amir suggested a local type of knowledge for the settlements based on size, morphological aspects of mounds, and structural assemblage urban settlements (9), fortified towns (11), large open camps (28), and castles (3), mostly dated to the ninth through seventh centuries BC. Three of the 43 rural settlements are on islands. Forty are small sites with rectangular compounds and architectural complexes within. The identification of small low-profiled mounds with early first millennium pottery on them as the circular "temporary camps" of the Neo-Assyrian army known from visual representations by Abdul-Amir is rightly criticized by Barham (1999: 46). There really is no evidence for any military activity at these sites. Some of the sites have both Middle and Late Assyrian pottery on them. The Early IA in this area, as known from historical sources, was dominated by independent cities (such as) of Saba.
Zammar Region British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq Saddam (Saddam) Dam Salvage Project 1985–86. Middle Tigris basin, W of the Tigris river 100 km NW of Mosul/Nineveh, Zammar sub-governorate of the Nineveh province immediately W of Tell al-Bawa region. 30 km stretch along the river bank.	Bell (ed.) 2003.	Vehicular and site-based with several excavating at different sites, aiming to establish a sound pottery sequence.	The LBA–IA phasing of the survey was done following historical periods, Mitran (an mid-second millennium), Middle Assyrian (late second millennium) and Late Assyrian (early first millennium). Based on identification by "local fine ware," "Mitannian period" sites are virtually absent, except for one site (K. Sherbat Khawar). A marked decline from early second millennium. The Middle Assyrian period is also not well represented (only in 2 minor sites). Few areas are argued that the region may be a "buffer" zone between the Middle Assyrian and Mitannian societies. The Late Assyrian period was a substantial noticeable settlement (8 sites). Six Qubba is identified as a new foundation. All settlements appear to be small rural settlements.

“The Rock Was Untouched”: The Ideology and Rhetorics of Landscapes

When the Middle Assyrian king Tukult-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BCE [*low chr.*]) decided to build his new capital city, a site was chosen on the eastern bank of the Tigris River only 3 km upstream from the centuries old Middle Assyrian capital city Aur on the opposite bank. According to royal foundation inscriptions, Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, “the Port of Tukult-Ninurta” was built “in uncultivated steppeland (and) fields (*ina namê* A.GÀ.R.ME *arbtî*²) where there was neither house nor dwelling, where no ruin hills or rubble had accumulated, and no bricks had been laid.”³ The king's builders constructed a major (*mi'ratu-*) canal, called *Pattu-mari* (“Canal of Justice”) to supply the environs of the new city with an “abundance” of water, and “transformed the plains of my city into irrigated fields” (*qarbat URU-ya ana tamkri*).⁴ To achieve this, the king had to “clear a way through high difficult mountains with stone chisels” and “cut a wide path...” (Grayson 1987: 273: A.O.78.23, lines 101–103). Later, Tukult-Ninurta I's son, lesser known king Ar-ndin-apli (1196–1194 BCE [*low chr.*]), attempted to alter the course of the Tigris near Aur and vowed to erect a royal statue of himself (*salam arrtiya*) at a gate of Aur to commemorate the event.⁵ Likewise, in the monumental inscriptions commemorating the foundation of *Kalhu*, the Neo-Assyrian king Ar-nasir-apli II (883–859 BCE) claimed to have brought water to the immediate hinterland of his new city: orchards “with all kinds of fruit trees” were planted in the environs of his new capital city, and were irrigated by means of the newly constructed *Patti He(n)galli*, the “Canal of Plentiness.”⁶ Outside Assyria in Cilicia, when the Luwian king Azatiwatas (late eighth century BCE) founded his city at Karatepe, he named it *Azatiwataya* and, in bilingual inscriptions displayed at the gates of the city, declared that he caused the Adanawa Plain to prosper and “built fortresses in all limits of the frontiers” of the plain.⁷ In the Ararat plain of Transcaucasus, the Urartian king Argiti I (ca. 785/80–756 BCE) built *Argitihinili* at the modern site of Armavir (Smith 1996: 238–249). In his commemorative inscriptions, he declared that at the site, “the earth was wilderness; nothing was built there,” while four canals, according to his report, were built, branching out of the rivers for the newly cultivated orchards and vineyards (Melikishvili 1960: text 137; cited in Smith 1999:46).

A later Urartian king, Rusa II (ca. 685–651 BCE), built *Rusahinili Eiduru-kai* at the site of Ayanis, where “the rock was untouched” and boasted that he set new orchards and vineyards in the environs of his foundation. In an inscription displayed at the citadel gate, he commemorates the foundation of the city:

[t]hrough the greatness of Haldi, Rusa, the son of Argiti, has built this fortress to perfection in front of the mountain Eiduru. Rusa says: the rock was <untouched>, nothing was built here (before). I built a shrine as well as a fortress, perfectly. I set new vineyards and orchards and founded a new town (settlement) here. Mightily (?) these accomplishments I made here. I imposed the name Rusahinili. Through the greatness of Haldi (I am) Rusa, the son of Argiti, mighty king, great king, king of Biainili, lord of the Tupa-city. Rusa says: whoever my name erases (and) puts his (own) name may Haldi and the Storm God and the Sun God annihilate him.

(trans. Salvini 2001b)

With this inscription, Rusa II is participating in the city-building practice and royal rhetoric shared by the Assyrian kingdom and Syro-Hittite states – an interregional *koine* of upper Mesopotamian states. *Koine* here refers to a shared network of ideas, practices, ideology, and material culture that comprises “the whole milieu of cultural, social and economic interchanges” (Horden & Purcell 2000: 530), even though *koine* is normally used for a lingua franca shared across a wide geographical region that cuts across multiple cultural and ethnic communities (see Siegel 2001 with bibliography). Similar to its use, Marian H. Feldman adopted the concept of a “visual *koine*” in defining an “international style” in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (Feldman 2002: 18, n. 87). This kind of shared culture does not envelope extensive geographies in an undifferentiated way but implies interaction, communication, and competition between different local communities at the level of understanding each other, while being not quite the same nor culturally homogenous. The concept of *koine* allows an emphasis on the cultural diversity across upper Mesopotamia, while pointing to various aspects of contact and exchange of knowledge, especially in the political, literary, visual, and architectural spheres.

The descriptions of the cultivation of the immediate or regional hinterland of new urban centers that accompanied their foundations were an important part of the shared royal rhetoric ardently expressed in the commemorative inscriptions of their founders. The rhetorical emphasis on the contrast between the formerly uncultivated, barren, and untouched landscapes in which the new cities were established, with the subsequent agriculturally flourishing, well-irrigated, and prosperous landscapes, asserts the *civilizing effect* of the royal act and promises the new inhabitants legitimized, self-sustaining environment that shapes a new world for living. The legitimizing ideology of such colonizing acts bears extensive similarities to the *terra nullius* (empty lands) discourse, known from the western imperial projects of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries that legitimized the western settlement in America, Africa, and Australia (Zukas 2005: 49).

Critical discussions of ideological discourse gained prominence in Ancient Near Eastern historiography in the late 1970s as a consequence of Mario Liverani's influential Althusserian deconstruction of ideology (Bahrani and Van de Mieroop 2004:x). Following Liverani's critical approach, several scholars have expressed doubt in understanding ideologically versed royal statements (such as those discussed previously) as bearing historical veracity. Fales, for instance, argued that landscape in Assyrian royal inscriptions "...is largely a landscape of connotated features, formed by the projection of the royal ideology onto a geographical-topographical reality" (Fales 1990: 91). For Liverani, "ideology has the function of presenting exploitation in a favorable light to the exploited, as advantageous to the disadvantaged" (Liverani 1979: 298). In his formulation, Assyrian rulers are "authors" of ideology and their subjects are passive "victims" (299). Consequently, ideology becomes "not the mirror of physical and economic reality, but its inverted image" (298).

It is a misconception to understand ideology as an illusion, distortion, or mystification of events, an epiphenomenon of social reality that is detached from everyday life. Demarrais and her colleagues assert ideology is "a central element of a cultural system" and "a source of social power" mobilized by social actors in order to have access to the benefits of public action (Demarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996: 15). It is much more productive in the study of landscapes to approach royal texts as rhetorical discourses with particular social interests, as Liverani suggested in his later writings (2004). This royal rhetoric may indeed be regarded as a social reality in itself. Terry Eagleton (1991: 30) argued that the stuff of ideological discourse does

not solely arise “from the interests of a dominant class, but from the material structure of society as whole.” If the concept of ideology is extended beyond the monopoly of the rulers and becomes accepted as operating on multiple social levels in the form of various ideologies and counter-ideologies, then ideology also becomes a constituent of “the social construction of the real” (Holliday 2002: xx--xxi).

Just as with ideology, the definition of rhetorical discourse then is not limited to the accomplishments of the ruler or to the confines of linguistic expression, but extends to all royal signifying activities in the public domain: commemorative building programs and public spectacles, such as royal hunts, sacrificial rituals, and state ceremonies. These were signifying acts of social agents that only achieved their social validity through a complex cultural discourse that required a response – a counter-gesture that affirmed their significance (Perinbanayagam 1985). In other words, these acts were forms of public performance and articulate monumental gestures bearing social power that shape political landscapes in close reciprocity with their reception. As the imperial rhetoric is essentially spatializing as much as it is narrativizing, the rhetoric creates its own narratives of history, and along lines similar to discursive activity, it shapes public spaces on scales varying from broad landscapes to the architectural technologies employed in large-scale building programs. Literary representations of altering landscapes in Assyrian royal statements are, therefore, more than literary *topoi*; they suggest that city foundations are but one component among many large-scale and ambitious landscape construction projects.

Contemporary Approaches to Archaeological Landscapes

The study of landscapes is a cross-disciplinary field of research in the social sciences and humanities, and much has been published on landscape from a variety of theoretical approaches, especially within archaeology, anthropology, geography, environmental studies, cultural studies, and art history.⁸ Closely related to notions of space and place, and encompassing both urban and rural environments, landscape emerges as a fertile field for the exploration of human ecologies in new spatial configurations. Moving away from the quantified, Cartesian notions of spatiality of the 1960s, however, landscape approaches allow us to “concentrate on culture and social relations, power and politics, identity and experience” as Julian Thomas (2001: 166) has recently put it. Landscape allows us to

observe formerly unexplored patterns of historical processes – from everyday life in the countryside, to the history of urban gardens, to comparisons with the dreaming tracks of Australian aborigines (Myers 1986), to the pastoral economies of Central Asian nomads (Frachetti 2008). Sufficient breakthroughs in the expanding methodologies of survey archaeology and environmental history have continued to provide an expanding empirical basis for the study of landscapes.

Let us now turn to the definition of landscape in the current scholarly literature and archaeology's contribution to it. First and foremost, landscape is neither considered a passive “environmental context” within which archaeological remains are situated, nor is it taken as a static “picturesque background” for historical events. The modernist distinction between natural and cultural landscapes has been incrementally questioned since the publication of Carl O. Sauer's article “The morphology of landscape” (1925).⁹ Instead, landscape has come to be understood as a concept that spans the continuum between nature and culture; it is a “mediation” between these two inseparable, interwoven realms (Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 20). The definition of landscape that is sought here also moves beyond the art historical concept of landscape as a representational medium, “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing or symbolizing surroundings” (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 1).¹⁰ The reduction of the idea of landscape to a representational definition neglects the essential materiality of landscapes and the spatial practices that physically bring them about. In the words of Bernard Knapp:

[t]he landscape...cannot be viewed as a natural, ready-made substrate on which a cultural design or mental template is imposed. There is a dynamic tension between the “natural” world and a socially constructed image of landscape. Landscape is neither “complete” nor is it “built” or “unbuilt”: rather it is a “social expression,” perpetually under construction.

(Knapp 1999: 230–231)

Landscape, then, is a physically and mentally constructed world made up of a constellation of meaningful, interconnected places where people engage with the material world around them (Smith 2001: 364; Bender 2001: 2–3). As Knapp articulates, it can never be a finished product, a static image, or readable text, but is more

accurately a fluid and eventful environment that is always in the process of being made. Although always changing, landscapes are not transient. Landscapes have memory; the sedimented materiality of a landscape offers a palimpsest of human activity and ecological processes that are registered in the depositional layers of the physical environment. Such layering simultaneously exists within each society's collective imagination constituted by oral, literary, and visual representations of territories that become their places of social memory. In other words, landscapes are at the same time both cultural artifacts and historical processes that are materialized through the practices of human agents. Landscapes constitute a field of cultural production, social interaction, and collective activity.¹¹

As a matter of accepted practice, as the material residues of landscapes have to be studied, intensive and extensive regional surveys constitute an important archaeological research tool for documenting and interpreting landscapes (Cherry 1983; Francovich, Patterson, and Parker 2000). Survey archaeology, as an allegedly systematic investigation of environmental and settlement history, seeks to understand the diachronic change in environmental conditions across centuries – human interventions to the environment and land use. To these ends, fieldwork in survey archaeology, identifies the so-called material signatures of social phenomena across long spans of time, including field boundaries, artifact scatters, settlement sites, routes and roads, artificial terracing, watercourses and irrigation canals, and all other similar *loci* of human activity on micro- and macro-regional scales (Adams 1981; Wilkinson 2003: 3–4). This rigorous documentation of multi-period landscape features enables archaeologists to derive conclusions about diachronic change in cultural systems, spatial configurations of landscapes, demographic growth, climatic fluctuations, human-induced degradation of landscape, depositional practices, and the formation of archaeological assemblages (Wandsnider 1998). Having abandoned the objectives of validating textual historical interpretations, archaeological survey has come to share the goals of the Braudelian *Annales* approach to history.¹² Supported by ever-changing methodologies of survey fieldwork, archaeological research has largely revised its notions of spatiality and temporality, with an epistemological shift toward investigating historical processes of change in the long term rather than particular events, and paying closer attention to the rural rather than urban landscapes.¹³ New techniques such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS) or the analysis of satellite imagery provide fertile ground for processing and representing a complexity of landscape data, as long as they are treated “with a healthy dose of

skepticism” (Wandsnider 1998: 101) and with an awareness of the ethical issues arising with cartographic representation in a postcolonial framework (Piper 2002).

In the recent decades, it has become gradually accepted that material scientific methodologies cannot solve all questions about landscapes. The complexity that landscapes offer cannot be limited to the ways in which historical events and material practices of societies have registered themselves ecologically in the material record. This registry, too, is representational in nature, and its literal “readings” are not only insufficient, but can occasionally be misleading (Shanks and Hodder 1995). Quantitative and functionalist approaches to landscape tell us *nothing* about, for example, the experience of particular landscapes, stories circulating about a sacred mountain or precisely why caves and sinkholes were considered entrances to the underworld. To draw connections between social practices and their representations, the material evidence has to be brought into an interpretive framework that studies its webs of cultural significance (Snead and Preucel 1999: 170).

Additionally, landscape has to be understood as emergent from being “perceived, experienced and contextualized by *people*” (Ashmore and Knapp 1999: 1, *italics added*). The formation of landscapes, therefore, involves the exercise of social agency and mechanisms of power (DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996), political struggle and negotiations between different cultural identities (Smith and David 1995), the material deposition of everyday practices, and the collective imagination of this haptic experience (Tilley 1994). Landscapes are constituted by an intricate web of socially significant places that become represented in various ways; they are *imagined*, *mythologized*, *marginalized*, or *contested*. These places are “where memory crystallizes and secretes itself,” sites of memory that often exist by virtue of their connection to specific historical events and persist through commemorative practices (Nora 1989: 7). Commemoration, as a performative spectacle of reviving the past and a way of socializing the world, creates a narrative account of history related to a particular *locale*. These narratives or “spatial stories” (De Certeau 1984: 115–130) also belong to landscapes, which serve as the *cadre matériel* (material/physical framework) of commemorative practices, to use the concept put forward by Maurice Halbwachs (1992). In summary then, the social production of space consists, in part, of the monumentalization and reconfiguration over time of places and landscapes and their writing into historical narratives

through commemoration and other spatial practices.

Commemorative landscapes are constituted by eventful public places where political negotiations are played out between elite and local ideologies. Places of commemoration are sites of power display where the material residues of these display practices foster the writing of local histories (Alcock 2001: 325). This chapter discusses certain commemorative practices that illustrate how place-making practices marked landscapes materially and conceptually, such as the Assyrian landscape events at “the sources of the Tigris,” on modern Birklinçay, near Diyarbakır in Southeastern Turkey (Harmanah 2007b).

If the making of monuments is considered another commemorative activity that significantly restructures the human environment spatially and the way it is represented in the collective imagination, then large-scale building activities, including city foundations, can similarly be understood as a social engagement with the landscape. Monuments, cities, and the collective activities that permeate their material presence contribute to the social world and the society's understanding of the past (Rowlands 1993: 144; Alcock 2002: 28–32). As Adam Smith (2003) has argued, the continuous reconfigurations of existing built environments as political landscapes is not epiphenomenal to history, but they have agency over the course of historical events and social processes. In the following sections, a number of case studies discuss the transformation of upper Mesopotamian landscapes through the construction of cities and monuments in the Early Iron Age. Commemoration is argued to be an important part in this process. To introduce the case studies a diachronic perspective on upper Mesopotamian landscapes is presented, because such a broad regional glance is necessary to see the role of city foundations in long-term history.

Upper Mesopotamian Environment during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age Transition

Upper Mesopotamia is a low, undulating plateau that is drained by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and stretches from the foothills of the Zagros to the Mediterranean Coast and from the Middle Euphrates region to the Taurus Range. The region covers what are now northern Iraq, northern Syria, and southeastern Turkey (Figure 1). A large portion of this landscape is called the Jazira, or literally “the island,”

delimited by the basins of the Euphrates and its two main tributaries, the Habur and the Balih, and the Tigris with the Upper and Lower Zab. These are the areas where most of the recent archaeological survey projects have concentrated.

The Jazira Plateau is formed on a Tertiary sedimentary geology of gypsum, limestone, and sandstone with occasional basalt plateaus and volcanic cones, especially in northern Syria, and buried by Quaternary alluvial and gravel fans (Wilkinson 1990: 87; Wilkinson and Barbanes 2000: 398). The Habur and the Balih cut across the region longitudinally and, in addition to the Tigris and Euphrates basins, form strips of intensive settlement and agricultural activity and serve as transportation corridors. The plateau is a semiarid belt where dry-farming or rain-fed cultivation is practiced and is therefore agriculturally different from Lower Mesopotamia. The 250–300 mm annual rainfall line roughly divides the plateau into northern and southern sectors in terms of agricultural strategies and crop choices. The southern sector is *steppe zone* (100–300 mm rainfall per annum) and considered a high risk, marginal cultivation zone, because the annual fluctuation in precipitation is significant. The northern edge of the Jazira receives 300–600 mm annual rainfall and is a *moist steppe forest*, featuring “open xeric woodland to steppe with scattered shrubs and trees, which include pine, oak and pistachio as well as juniper” (Wilkinson 2003: 18–19). The northern sector can sustain a wider range of crops, including grains, lentils, vegetables, olives, and vineyards, and offers a much more balanced subsistence economy accompanied by animal husbandry. The specialized subsistence economies of the southern sector are more dependent on a pastoral economy and the cultivation of cereals; the dominant crop is barley, which is also essential for the feeding of the flocks (Zeder 1988, 1991). Precisely in this intermittent zone of uncertainty between zones of rain-fed and irrigation agriculture, human interventions such as large-scale irrigation systems, similar to those initiated by Assyrian kings, may have significantly altered landscapes and their productivity. Finally, the coastal zone covering the Levant and south Anatolian coastline, especially the Cilician Plain, is considered *Mediterranean coastal woodland*, and the Taurus-Zagros mountainous arc to the north and northeast in an oak-pistachio-almond steppe forest that has offered much of the timber sources for Near Eastern polities throughout history.

In comparison to Early Holocene environments, this woodland and steppe landscape of upper Mesopotamia has widely degraded today.

Palynological studies suggest that Early to Middle Holocene landscapes in the Near East (Neolithic to the end of Early Bronze Age) were significantly more green and wooded than the Late Holocene, which covers the second and first millennia BCE to the modern periods (Van Zeist and Bottema 1991: 11; Roberts et al. 2001). The degraded vegetation conditions had been established by approximately 2000 BCE, and were largely a result of human impact on landscapes from animal grazing, fuel-cutting, and farming, especially since the Middle Holocene, and to a lesser extent, an effect of fluctuating hydro-climatic conditions over time.¹⁴ Archaeobotanical and faunal research in upper Mesopotamia shows that, despite significant regional variations, human interference on vegetation during the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the Hellenistic periods (ca. 3500–2000 BP)¹⁵ is evident especially in the form of massive deforestation (Miller 1998; Van Zeist and Bottema 1991: 140–141). The developing metal industry and pastoralism in Assyrian and Urartian territories must have entailed large-scale exploitation of forests and adversely affected upper Mesopotamian woodlands.

The settlements in the Jazira concentrated along the north–south valleys (*wadis*), but the marginal semiarid steppe between the valleys was extensively used by pastoralists. More broadly, upper Mesopotamian landscapes offer a multiplicity of habitats, including the “river bank,” “high country,” and “pasture land,” each presenting distinct settlement strategies (Buccellati 1990b). Urbanization in upper Mesopotamia in the mid-third millennium BCE led to the formation of a landscape of mounds with the prominent *Kranzhügel* settlements as the urban foundations. The Jazira today is characterized by thousands of such mounds that spread across the landscape and were settled most extensively in the Early Bronze Age. The Jazira mounds rarely exceed 100 ha in size, and most of them reached their maximum extent in the mid-third millennium BCE. The respectively smaller sized and lower profiled mounds in the area, however, are either Neolithic-Chalcolithic or Iron Age settlements, and this is very telling about why many Iron Age founders of settlements (who were abandoning the massive Bronze Age mounds) often chose to build on Chalcolithic mounds (Wilkinson 2003: 109, figure 6.7). This topographical prominence of Bronze Age settlements as an ancestral landscape must have equally been a significant aspect of the environment during the Iron Age, as is evident in the numerous attestations among place names of the Akkadian word *tlu* (“ruined mound”) for such landscape features.

In the Late Bronze Age, the building activities of the highly centralized powers and regional states created large urban centers that acted as ceremonial centers whose popularity reached beyond their specific regions. These cities served also as administrative capitals of broad regions and ports of trade. Hattua, the capital of the Hittite Empire on the Central Anatolian plateau (modern Boazköy) increasingly became the focus of centralized cultic activity and state ritual. Its upper city served as a pan-Hittite cult center with the gathering of diverse cults from the empire's territories during the fifteenth through thirteenth centuries BCE.¹⁶ Likewise, the Elamites at Unta-Napiria, the Kassites at Dr Kurigalzu, possibly the Mittani at Wa-ukanni, and certainly the Assyrians at Kr-Tukult-Ninurta attempted to gather the major divinities of the countryside at their newly founded capital cities and to house them in the newly built sacred precincts. The Cilician and North Syrian centers like Tarhuntaa, Karkam, Alalah, and Ugarit seem to have depended heavily on Eastern Mediterranean trade. On a lesser scale, prosperous towns of the Middle Euphrates, such as Emar (Tell Meskene) and Ekalte (Tell Munbaqa), controlled their own limited territories fairly autonomously and also fostered a significant cultic and ceremonial function in their active urban landscapes (Adamwhite 2001). With the subsequent decline of these major and minor territorial states and their urban centers, the supra-regional world of the Late Bronze Age gradually succumbed. Survey evidence suggests that the settlement pattern in upper Mesopotamia had become less and less hierarchical and more dependent on large settlements in the Late Bronze Age (Table 1).¹⁷ Following their collapse, this development culminated in widespread ruralization during the Early Iron Age that was accompanied by a proliferation of nomadic pastoralist groups. My analysis correlates the proliferation of the practice of founding cities in the Early Iron Age with the abandonment of large Bronze Age mounds during the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition and the resettlement of the countryside in new configurations of the landscape. I argue that the popularity of the idea of founding new citadels is intimately linked to this gradual change in the structures of settlement.

In the years following the collapse in the early twelfth century BCE, upper Mesopotamia experienced a few centuries of decolonization with the decline of Hittite, Egyptian, and Assyrian territorial sovereignty (Masetti-Rouault 1998). The silence of the state records of the imperial institutions relative to the Late Bronze Age records has led to an under-representation of the Early Iron Age in modern scholarship and theories of decline. The image of the landscape that emerges from the critical analysis of the available survey, excavation,

and epigraphic evidence, however, is agriculturally flourishing and characterized by new political units and trade networks, renewed strategies of settlement, and pastoral prosperity in the steppe.

Following the decline in the Late Bronze Age economic network in the eastern Mediterranean world, the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–850 BCE) is a period of new political alliances and economic structures across the various upper Mesopotamian geographies (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 351–377; Klengel 2000). The relative dearth of texts has long led historians to classify this period as a “dark age.” Recent scholarly work, however, calls this classification into question and suggests more continuity than rupture.¹⁸ With this questioning of a cultural hiatus, the emerging picture of the Early Iron Age is a period of dramatic change. Combined with the radical reconfiguration in the political geography of the region, an extensive array of cultural transformations are also associated with this curious transitional period: changes in settlement landscapes, reorientation of trade networks, new forms of state organization, and changes in agricultural strategies and material culture, writing systems, and technologies of craft production (Bunnens 2000a).

The Evidence from Regional Surveys

The archaeological evidence from upper Mesopotamian regional surveys indicate that the Iron Age landscapes share a settlement pattern that is widely interpreted as dispersed and heavily rural (Wilkinson 2003: 128–133) (table 1). Challenging, however, are the methodological difficulties and inconsistencies in upper Mesopotamian survey projects and the problematic lack of finely graded ceramic chronologies that cut across regions, especially for the Iron Age. These problems prevent arriving at a reliable and fine-grained picture of landscapes and regional variations in material culture.¹⁹ The traditional vehicular surveys does not work well for identifying Early Iron Age sites because they tend to miss rural and low-lying settlements and they are inevitably silent about landscape features such as linear hollows and field scatters.²⁰ With respect to certain regional ceramic assemblages, especially non-Assyrian wares in upper Mesopotamia are still unrecognized, and the absence of diachronic pottery sequences and fine ceramic chronologies for the Iron Age hinder the identification settlement pattern change within the Iron Age.

The scholarly tendency to correlate survey results from upper

Mesopotamia too closely with the historical records of the Assyrian empire and to historicize regional survey evidence is another problem. This is particularly evident in the classification of pottery from the Tigris basin and the Jazira, using historical time-period guidelines (Mitannian, Middle Assyrian, Neo-Assyrian, and so on) rather than correlating with the standard Late Bronze Age or Early/Middle/Late Iron Age terminology used elsewhere in the Near East (e.g., Wilkinson and Tucker 1995). From the very beginning of the Iron Age, the region is seen as “an amalgam of tribal kingdoms, provincial kingdoms, and small states, many of which were ultimately subsumed by the territorial empire of the Late Assyrians” (Wilkinson and Barbanes 2000: 397). The idea that the region is *subsumed* within the historical trajectory of the Assyrian Empire suggests an Assyro-centric view and sometimes skews the interpretation of survey data. For example, the dating of archaeologically attested changes in settlement are often tied directly to historical events such as abandonment, agricultural colonization, or mass deportations.²¹ Likewise, pottery assemblages are evaluated with ethnicities in mind (Assyrian, non-Assyrian, and others), and particular ceramic types are equated with political control. Equating pottery with people or with political control, or a “one-to one correspondence of ethnic identification with archaeological cultures,” has long been shown to be mistaken (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 329). In contrast, Reinhard Bernbeck argued that survey data should preferably be used to answer questions relating to long-term economic and social processes rather than political events. In an article on precisely this problem of the use of ceramics in the interpretation of Neo-Assyrian frontier regions, he writes:

I am convinced that it is not possible to isolate any ethnic group within the empire or the limits of the empire itself through an analysis of ceramics. At least for this [Wadi Ajij] region and period, stylistic attributes do not correlate with political or economic constellations....These data reveal quite different things about the long-term trends in the Neo-Assyrian Empire than any royal *res gestae*.

(Bernbeck 1999:171)²²

There is much benefit in evaluating survey data at least primarily, *independently* of political historical narratives and other potentially

biased accounts. The landscape policies of Iron Age rulers did certainly alter the settlement structure in many reorganized regions, but mass deportations and forced settlement do not sufficiently explain the complexity of landscape transformations in the Near East.

Despite significant regional variations and such methodological dilemmas, the impression derived from available survey evidence is of a densely inhabited landscape of villages, hamlets, and farmsteads during the Iron Age, and flourishing urban centers that were smaller, more widely diffused, and much more numerous than the Late Bronze Age. Results of several archaeological surveys that address the question of the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition are summarized in [Table 1](#), and mapped in [Figure 2](#). The characteristics of this transition are: (1) Late Bronze Age populations depended heavily on large mounds and small scale settlements were virtually absent in this period; (2) throughout the Early and Middle Iron Ages, a gradual increase occurs in the number of sites, most of which are dispersed and rural; (3) Bronze Age mounds are largely abandoned in the Early Iron Age, and Iron Age settlements appear as lower mounds adjacent to Bronze Age mounds; (4) starting in the Early Iron Age, gradual infilling of marginal landscapes (arid steppe and hilly flanks, to name a few) with the foundation of settlements in areas not previously occupied or used for pasturage because of limited resources for cultivation; and (5) a marked shift or short-distance displacement of regional centers is seen. Similar locational discontinuity from the Late Bronze Age is also observed for rural settlements. A significant percentage of Iron Age settlements were, therefore, new foundations.

Between 1985 and 1990, the British Archaeological Expedition carried out a full-coverage survey in the region of Tell el Hawa, north of Jebel Sinjar and west of the Tigris Basin. The Iron Age landscape was filled with very small settlements in the range of 1–2.5 ha (and rarely close to 5 ha). When compared to the Middle Assyrian settlement pattern, Wilkinson and Tucker demonstrated that Middle Assyrian villages continued into the Iron Age and unsettled marginal areas saw the foundation of new settlements. A test excavation at one of these foundations, Khirbet Alok, revealed it to be a new Iron Age settlement on a low-lying Ubaid mound (Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 61 and 66). Additionally, Tell al-Hawa, the largest third millennium BCE settlement in the area diminished in size from 50–60 ha to 7–15 ha. Rather than being completely abandoned, this particularly ancient settlement must have kept its ceremonial significance, and even perhaps its administrative role, because it is known that Shalmaneser

III built a temple to the god Adad there in the ninth century BCE (Grayson 1996: 119–120; text A.O.102.41).

In the intensively studied Lower Habur Basin, an important frontier region between Mitannian and Middle Assyrian territories in the Late Bronze Age, the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients survey showed that the Late Bronze Age (Middle Assyrian) settlements were very limited in number – nine sites, five of which were major mounds evenly spaced along the valley (Hassaka, Ta‘ban, ‘Ajaja, Fadhgami, and Sheikh Hamad) (Morandi Bonacossi 2000: 366–369; Ergenzinger et al. 1988). The Early Iron Age/Early Neo-Assyrian (tenth to early ninth centuries BCE) sites could not be mapped because of the absence of stratified ceramic assemblage of the period. For the Neo-Assyrian period, an apparently abrupt increase is recorded in the number of settlements (eighteen for the late ninth to early eighth centuries, with a 95-hectare aggregate site area; and sixty-six sites for the Late Neo-Assyrian period, eighth to seventh centuries BCE, with a 270-hectare aggregate site area), when more stratified and dispersed rural sites extend beyond the river valley and into the arid steppe. This contrast between the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods should be taken with caution, however, because at present the Neo-Assyrian period seems to have more visibility on the surface and some of the results are based on negative evidence. What I mean by this is that the absence of archaeological evidence is often taken for granted uncritically as real, whereas sometimes it may simply be a product of our methodologies of collection and/or our lack of recognition of particular materials. The intensive survey in the Tell Beydar area recorded twenty-six sites where Bronze Age mounds were abandoned and Iron Age settlement shifted to lower mounds immediately adjacent to the Bronze Age mounds (Barbanes 1999: 56, note 43; Figure 3). Almost half of the sixty-two Iron Age settlements in the Tell Beydar area were founded in the Iron Age.

Moving to North Syrian landscapes, in the Balih Valley, after a significant decline in settlement density toward the end of the second millennium BCE, the early first millennium brings about a boom in the number of rural settlements. The surveys report that at least thirty-seven of these sites were new settlements, comprising 90 percent of all sites dated to this period (Lyon 2000: 102). In the Tabqa Dam area near Tell es-Sweyhat, settlement gradually declines in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Whereas sizable centers like Tell Munbaqa, Tell Hadidi, and Al-Qitar are abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age, numerous low and small settlements are founded presumably in the

Early Iron Age in the periphery of Tell es-Sweyhat (Wilkinson 1995: 151). Whereas in the Tishrin Dam area, extensive Late Bronze settlements with lower towns like Tell Bazi were abandoned (Einwag and Otto 1999), smaller new settlements such as Tell Khamis, Tell Jurn Kabir, and Tell Qadahiye are founded in the Early Iron Age (Séiquer 1999; Eidem and Pütt 1999). Likewise in the Jabbul Plain east of Aleppo, the largest settlement (Umm el-Marra) was abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age when a considerable reduction of settlement density occurred (eleven sites); but the plain was populated with small villages of less than 2 ha in the Iron Age (thirty-four sites) (Schwartz et al. 2000: 452). The Amuq Plain experiences a comparable decline in settlement density in the Late Bronze Age (Amuq M: sixteen sites), and, again, a gradual expansion of settlement is observed in the Early Iron Age (1200–1000 BCE) (Amuq N: twenty-two sites) and the rest of the Iron Age (1000–500 BCE) (Amuq O: thirty-two sites) (Yener et al. 2000). It is notable in the Amuq Plain that 74 percent of all Early Iron Age settlements were newly built, while 75 percent of Middle–Late Iron Age sites beared continuity from the Early Iron Age (Harrison 2001: 122). Amuq Plain evidence confirms the interpretation that during the Early Iron Age significant shifts in settlement location occurred and founding settlements became a prominent practice across the landscape in transformation. This evidence should motivate archaeologists in other survey regions to consider this trend as a research question, especially once the Early to Middle Iron Age ceramic chronologies are more refined.

In conclusion, the evidence from archaeological landscapes of various regions suggests comparable trends across upper Mesopotamia during the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age. In the areas closer to Assyrian territories, the decline in settlement is generally associated with the Mitannian and Middle Assyrian periods and resettlement with the Neo-Assyrian period. In northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, the Late Bronze Age decline in rural settlement and population concentration on urban settlement mounds culminate in collapse and abandonment in the early twelfth century BCE, and the gradual formation of the dispersed and rural settlement pattern follows in the Early to Middle Iron Age.

Various regional survey projects across upper Mesopotamia demonstrate that the fluorescence of rural settlement was particularly intense in previously marginal zones such as uncultivated pasture land or hilly areas. In the area of Tell el-Hawa, “marginal rolling terrain, without wadis and with less accessible ground water, was also

occupied” by newly settled villages beyond the extent of preceding Middle Assyrian settlement (Wilkinson 1995: 146). In the area of Tell es-Sweyhat in northern Syria, rural settlements proliferate in the Iron Age “on or slightly beyond the former limit of cultivation” (Wilkinson 1995: 151). Along the Wadi Ajij, an agriculturally marginal valley with annual rainfall of around 150 mm acquired a significant settlement stratification throughout the Iron Age (Bernbeck 1993: 127–145). This evidence suggests both an expansion of cultivation in the arid steppe and possibly an increased interaction between pastoralist activities and agricultural production in the Iron Age.

In the overall picture, the foundation of settlements was not confined to the royally initiated large urban centers, but they were a distinguishing characteristic of settlement trends across upper Mesopotamia in the Iron Age. The practice was extensively attested at various scales, especially in villages, hamlets, farmsteads, frontier fortresses, and regional centers. The efforts the Iron Age rulers invested in establishing new cities, particularly provincial centers with intensive building activity, probably ought to be understood as a strategy to counteract this ruralization and dispersal of settlement and as, perhaps, a conscious attempt to administer the agricultural production. The shared royal rhetoric of cultivating previously barren landscapes, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, perhaps is better understood in the context of the extensive Early Iron Age landscape changes, when settlement in hitherto less intensely exploited, marginal landscapes became the most prevalent practice in upper Mesopotamia, and these changes left a deep imprint in the perception of the environment.

Urbanization and Commemoration in Syro-Hittite Landscapes

After the discussion of the broader survey evidence on the upper Mesopotamian countryside at the end of the Bronze Age, let us now turn to regional dynamics of urbanization at the beginning of the Iron Age. Recent scholarship on the archaeology and history of north Syria and southeast Anatolia has drawn attention to the processes of state formation during significant realignments of power (Mazzoni 2000a; Hawkins 1982). These geopolitical changes stripped the region from the control of imperial polities and their economic systems, especially following the collapse of the Hittite Empire in central Anatolia and the

weakening of the Assyrian Empire in the Middle-Upper Tigris Valleys. In former Hittite territories and their southern and southeastern margins, a series of regional polities emerged with new ideological affiliations, social makeup, and economic frameworks during the Early Iron Age (Figure 3). Among these regional polities, fairly well-known are Karkam in the upper Middle Euphrates Valley, Malizi/Melid in the Malatya and Elbistan Plains, Tabal in Cappadocia, Kummuh near Ad yaman, Gurgum in the area of Mara, Que in the Çukurova Plain and eastern Cilicia, Hilakku in Rough Cilicia, Patina/Unqi in the Amuq Plain, and Hamath around Hama (Melchert 2003). The Luwian-, Phoenician-, and Aramaic-speaking populations of these polities formed a multilingual network with rivalries and shared material culture, social practices, and state ideologies (Harmanah 2007a). Careful analysis of each of these polities shows that they were often comprised of culturally and linguistically diverse publics, as demonstrated by the widespread bilingualism of their public monuments. But the political identity of each ruling dynasty itself and its ideological affiliations with Luwian, Aramaic, or Phoenician cultures were fluidly changing over the course of time. In the Syro-Hittite polity centered at the north Syrian site of Tell Ahmar, ancient Masuwari, for example, a Luwian affiliation in the Early Iron Age is evident in a series of hieroglyphic Luwian stelae raised at the site (Bunnens 2006; Hawkins 2000 I: 224–226). Masuwari clearly switched to an Aramaean political affiliation by the ninth century BCE with the name Til-Barsip/Tarbusiba of the state of Bit-Adini, and the site became the royal city of “Ahuni,” an Aramaean leader.

Among the material manifestations of this cultural network was the construction of new citadels as regional centers, primarily with functions of manufacture, storage, trade, and feasting. The architectural technologies that were employed in the course of these projects were innovative and circulated between regions. The production of furniture parts in elephant ivory, metalworking, stone masonry, textile production, and other crafts participated in an artisanal and visual culture shared among the Syro-Hittite polities and with a distinctive stylistic and iconographic repertoire (Aro 2003; Winter 1988). Booming cultivation of the Mediterranean secondary crops of olives and grapes in the newly settled marginal landscapes and the specialized production of olive and grape products, especially oil and wine, were important aspects of the agriculture in the region. Trade in these luxuries and commodities were eased with the introduction of the dromedary as a pack animal in upper Mesopotamia in the Early Iron Age (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 361; Mazzoni 1995a: 130). The overland routes effectively connected the Syro-

Hittite production centers to the trade networks of the eastern Mediterranean and the demanding markets of Assyria and Urartu. Hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic Phoenician and Aramaic were the language of monumental commemorative inscriptions, featuring a distinctive royal rhetoric, state ideology, and cultic affiliations. The sculpted funerary stelae and ancestor statues of the Syro-Hittite world testify to common practices of ancestor veneration and feasting (Bonatz 2000a).

Simultaneous with the innovations of the emerging Syro-Hittite polities, the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition is characterized by a continuity in material culture, both in terms of regional and local traditions and affiliations with aspects of the imperial Hittite past. The unbroken stratigraphic sequences at Tille Höyük, Lidar Höyük, Noruntepe, Kilise Tepe, Tell Afis, Kinet Höyük, Porsuk Zeyve Höyük, and Grê Dimsê (among others) show little or no hiatus between the Late Bronze and Early Iron levels (Fischer et al. 2003). The technologies of Hittite wheel-made ceramic production overlap with the wares introduced in the Early Iron Age; for example, the handmade ceramics with horizontal grooved decoration.²³

Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments and seal impressions from the Early Iron Age have confirmed a continued tradition of royal titlature and monument-making (Hawkins 2009: 164). Furthermore, it is evident in the iconographic and stylistic aspects of pictorial representations that the Early Iron Age artisanal practices of the Syro-Hittite cities were embedded, on the one hand, in the imperial Hittite traditions *and*, on the other hand, in the local north Syrian Bronze Age traditions. It can be argued that this referencing of a shared Hittite past amalgamated with local practices and sustained a collective identity among the Syro-Hittite states (Bonatz 2001a). Luwian represents a vernacular Anatolian language group of the second and first millennia BCE that was spoken extensively in southeastern, south central, and western Anatolia during the Hittite Empire and the Iron Age. Both the thirteenth century imperial Hittite rulers of Hattua and Tarhuntaa, and several rulers of the Syro-Hittite Iron Age carved their monumental inscriptions on stone monuments and rock faces, adopting a particular dialect of the Luwian language and using the “Hittite” hieroglyphic script (Melchert 2003; Hawkins 2000 I: 1–6).

Archaeological work at two Syro-Hittite temples at Tell ‘Ain Dara and the Aleppo citadel exemplify the continuity in architecture and cult practice during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition. Located

40 km northwest of Aleppo and overlooking the Afrin valley, the temple at 'Ain Dara was most likely dedicated to Itar-awuka (see [Figures 4 and 5](#)). It was decorated with an impressive sculptural program in basalt and limestone and included massive lion and sphinx portal figures (Abu Assaf 1990). The temple was founded in the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1300 BCE) and continued to be rebuilt and maintained until around 740 BCE (Abu Assaf 1990: 20–24, 39–41; Orthmann 1993; Zimansky 2002). This dating is confirmed by surface survey and test soundings on the mound, which showed that the city at 'Ain Dara had a substantial settlement at the end of the Bronze Age (thirteenth century BCE) that continued without hiatus; it prospered most in the Iron II period (ninth and eighth centuries BCE) (Stone and Zimansky 1999).

The temple to the Storm God of Halab in the Aleppo citadel, the capital of the Middle Bronze Age polity of Yamhad, also illustrates continuity in its cultic identity and architectural technology ([Figure 6](#)). The temple was founded sometime in the Early Bronze Age and was reconstructed on a more monumental scale in the early second millennium BCE with undecorated but finely dressed wall slabs (orthostats) on the inner façade of its northern wall ([Figure 7](#)) (Kohlmeyer 2009: 194; Gonnella, Khayyata, and Kohlmeyer 2005). A second building phase occurred during the Late Bronze Age under the patronage of the Hittites, when the first orthostats with reliefs were introduced to the architecture of the temple.²⁴ The temple was again rebuilt during the Early Iron Age under the patronage of a certain King Taita of the Land of Palistin/Walistin, presumably sometime in the eleventh century BCE with a more comprehensive and distinctively Syro-Hittite program of orthostats with deeply carved relief representations and hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (Kohlmeyer 2011; Hawkins 2011). A number of relief blocks carved in imperial Hittite style were reused in the Iron Age temple, and they indicate late fourteenth or thirteenth century BCE building activities at Aleppo (Khayyatta and Kohlmeyer 2000: 737). Similar to the 'Ain Dara temple, the Aleppo temple featured basalt sphinx and lion portal figures. The architectural techniques and the cultural impact of 'Ain Dara and Aleppo temples are discussed at greater length in [Chapter 5](#) in the context of the formation of a north Syrian architectural tradition from the Middle Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age. With their evolving architectural design, building technologies, and sculptural programs, the temples at 'Ain Dara and Aleppo are buildings that tell the story of how various techniques that were impacted by a diversity of craft technologies circulated in the eastern Mediterranean world. They demonstrate a fascinating amalgamation

of architectural practices and visual culture rooted in the heterogeneous local practices and the shared inheritance of imperial Hittite culture. Later in this chapter, the formation of Melid/Malizi polity is interpreted from a similar perspective of the Syro-Anatolian cultural continuity and change during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. To provide a context for the Malizean landscapes, the next section turns to the shifting political landscape of northern Syria and Anatolia at the end of the Bronze Age and discusses this transformation with the evidence for the practice of founding cities and erecting commemorative monuments.

Moving Landscapes: Shifts in the Geography of Power

From the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence, Karkami emerges as a pivotal player in the reconfiguration of the political landscape following the fall of the imperial Hittite dynasty at Hattua around 1180 BCE. Beginning in the Middle Bronze Age, Karkami already had a strong political and economic position in the north Syrian geography (Hawkins 1980a). Located at the most prominent Euphrates crossing and in control of the upper Middle stretch of the Euphrates river transport, Karkami was also a major center of craft production and entrepôt of metal, timber, wine, and products from the Middle Bronze into the Iron Ages (Winter 1983a: 178). In the Late Bronze Age, the Hittite involvement with North Syria and Southern Anatolia, particularly the area around Karkami, had become progressively intensive. Suppiluliuma I (1344–1322 BCE) consolidated the territorial power of the Hittite Empire over northern Syria and, around 1340 BCE, appointed his son Piyaili (later to be known by his adopted Hurrian throne-name arri-Kuuh) as a viceroy king at Karkam and his son Telipinus at Halab (Aleppo), presumably, as a priest of the Storm God Teub.²⁵ Following the establishment of Hittite viceroyalty, the prosperous city of Karkami became the center of Hittite political presence in north Syria, while Halab/Aleppo retained a more ritual significance than political.

Furthermore, Muwatalli II (c. 1295–1272 BCE) attempted to move the Hittite royal capital from Hattua to Tarhuntaa, a city and region in Rough Cilicia and the southern Konya Plain (Singer 1998a: 539). Following the death of Muwatalli, the “*Great King*”-ship was restored to Hattua by Urhi-Teub (Murili III), Muwatalli's successor to the throne. Nonetheless, according to the recent epigraphic discoveries, Kurunta, another son of Muwatalli II who had become the viceroy

king at Tarhuntaa, later became a rival of the *Great King*-ship at Hattu
a. This political contestation emerged after these discoveries:

- (a) In 1986, the “Bronze Tablet” near Yerkap. at Boazköy, which is a completely preserved text of a treaty between Tudhaliya IV and his cousin Kurunta (CTH 104) that settled the boundaries of the “appanage” kingdom of Tarhuntaa²⁶,
- (b) Kurunta's own seal impressions on bullae from Temple 3 at Boazköy that name him “Great King”²⁷, and
- (c) Kurunta's rock relief at Hatip, southwest of Konya at a major spring source that probably marked the border between the Hittite “Lower Land” and Tarhuntaa (Bahar 1998).

As John David Hawkins (2002) and Itamar Singer (1996a) have convincingly argued, by the thirteenth century BCE, Tarhuntaa and Karkami had already become politically powerful centers against the weakening Hattua, so much so that their kings entertained the title “Great King,” which was, until recently, thought to have been the prerogative of the Hittite king at Hattua until the fall of the dynasty there. Understanding this gradual southward shift of Hittite geographies of power in the last centuries of the Empire, the actual abandonment of Hattua in the first quarter of the twelfth century BCE cannot necessarily be considered a big surprise.

According to recent archaeological work at the Hittite capital, the Upper City of Boazköy was abandoned gradually, accompanied perhaps with the ritual cleaning and ceremonial sealing of cult buildings, contrary to the commonly held opinion that the “prosperous” city was destroyed catastrophically and uniformly by “hostile attacks.” Based on a critical evaluation of the overall archaeological evidence from Boazköy's terminal Bronze Age levels, Jürgen Seeher convincingly demonstrated that many years prior to the destruction of the city, Hattua must have already lost its status of being the capital city and the royal residence (Seeher 2001: 633). Researchers are not entirely sure of the fate of the kings of Tarhuntaa at the end of the Bronze Age; however, the dynastic line of viceroy kings of Karkami, thus related to the imperial dynasty at Hattua, survived into the Iron Age, holding control of the territories on the Upper Euphrates and North Syria.²⁸ Kuzi Teub (son of Talmi Teub), whose seal impressions naming him the “King of Karkami” were found in the Early Iron Age levels at Lidar Höyük,²⁹ is shown to be the fifth king in the line of Karkamiean imperial dynasty descending from arri-

Kuuh. The transfer and the redefinition of the toponym “Land of Hatti” from designating the Central Anatolian plateau in the Late Bronze Age (core territories of the Hittite empire) to designating the North Syrian region with its regional center at Karkami in the Iron Age is certainly not random and confirms this transfer of territorial power (Hawkins 2000 I: 3).³⁰

The significant conclusion that emerges from these new archaeological and epigraphic data is that the socioeconomic and political center of gravity in the geography of the Hittite Empire had already shifted southward to south-central Anatolia and North Syria in the thirteenth century BCE. The subsequent process of urbanization in the Early Iron Age makes more sense as a continuation of this long-term trend. This process of the trans-regional shift of landscape system that defined the Hittite Empire's core territories – that is, “the Land of Hatti” – is perhaps comparable to the shift of Assyrian core landscapes “the Land of Aur” from around the city Aur to the Kalhu-Nnuwa-Arbela triangle in the upper Middle Tigris–Upper Zab region during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition, which is discussed in the next chapter. One could speculate that the motivation behind these grand-scale spatial transformations was most likely effective control of changing trade networks and metal resources. It is also evident that perhaps the most palpable evidence of such moving landscapes was the foundation of new capital cities, as illustrated by the constructions of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, Tarhuntaa, Kalhu, Nnuwa, Zincirli, and others (Casana and Hermann 2010). The administrative vacuum that was created at the end of the second millennium in the Central Anatolian landscapes by the collapse of the Hittite centers eventually lead to the formation of new indigenous regional polities, especially that of the Phrygians in the Halys bend and the Sangarios valley and the kingdom of Tabal in the Konya plain and Cappadocia (Strobel 2008).

Rock Reliefs, New Cities and Colonized Landscapes

In the Ancient Near East, rock reliefs are a remarkable type of public monument, inscribing culturally significant and geologically dramatic places such as springs, caves, mountain passes, river gorges, and rock outcrops with images and text that usually communicate the official ideology of the state or a political statement. These durable entities are often commemorative in nature and gather around themselves a constellation of ritual practices and public ceremonies. They are

therefore linked to social performance and memory (Alcock 2002: 28–30). While colonizing the surfaces of the natural rock, rock reliefs adhere to the enduring temporality of the geological landscape and appropriate locally meaningful locales for state spectacles. Carving rock reliefs is, in a way, similar to the act of founding a new city in a contested, frontier landscape. Both acts claim to take over previously barren “natural” places with the colonial gesture of civilizing them. Rock reliefs are therefore critical markers of specific historical processes in particular geographies. In fact, their endurance in the landscape across centuries invites continuous reimagination of their meanings and symbolisms and their incorporation in new political discourses, stories, and even multiple re-carving events, as was the case with the famous site of Nahr el-Kalb in Lebanon (Volk 2008).

There is a group of monumental cult complexes and rupestral monuments in the south-central Anatolia known as KIZILDA, KARADA, and BURUNKAYA, all inscribed with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions that appear to hold vital importance in understanding the beginnings of urbanization in the region during the Early Iron Age, especially in the area that eventually becomes Tabal of the Neo-Assyrian sources.³¹ KZLDA and KARADA are located on the rocky slopes of the mountains Kzlda and Karada overlooking the southern Konya plain, while BURUNKAYA is further North-west in the area of Ihlara at the heart of the Cappadocian landscape (Figure 3). The hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the monuments are now dated immediately after the abandonment of Hattua on epigraphic grounds, not later than the twelfth century BCE, especially considering the close affinity of these monuments to the inscription at YALBURT sacred pool complex of Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209 BCE) (Hawkins 2009: 165).³² The rock reliefs, rock-cut features, and a series of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions at Kzlda are contained within a sizeable fortress built on a rock outcrop overlooking a seasonal lake, Hotam. Gölü (Figure 8) (Karauuz, Bahar and Kunt 2002). Despite the absence of detailed archaeological research at these sites, it is evident that KARADA is an extra-urban cultic installation at a mountaintop sacred place, perhaps associated with the nearby contemporaneous settlement/fortress at KZLDA.³³ All these rock inscriptions consistently name a particular ruler Hartapu who assumes the title “Great King, Hero,” the son of a certain Mursilis, also “Great King,” and commemorates the foundation of a new city, most likely referring to the fortress at Kzlda:

kizilda 3

<Beloved (??) (of)> the Storm-God, the Sun, Great King
Hartapus,

son of Mursilis, Great King, Hero, built this city.

(Translation: Hawkins 2000 I: 438)

The historical significance of these cult installations seems to be that, at the very beginning of the Early Iron Age, the local king Hartapu was involved in establishing a regional polity extending from the southern Konya plain well into Cappadocia, and such territorial claim was being formulated through the ideology and royal rhetoric of founding new cities and the practice of the carving of reliefs and monumental inscriptions on living rock, which we know was extensively used much later among the Iron Age polities. Similar expressions of city foundations are also known from the thirteenth century imperial Hittite hieroglyphic Luwian monuments such as The Sacred Pool Complex (Südburg) inscription of uppiluluima II at Bo azköy. In the Südburg inscription, the king commemorates the construction of a number of cities during his southwestern and south-central Anatolian campaigns and links it to the construction of that specific commemorative monument (Hawkins 1995d: 22–23). These two constructive acts, namely foundation of new cities and carving of rock reliefs as commemorative monuments, seem to be correlated in interesting ways as two significant colonizing gestures of taking hold of new territories of settlement. They share a powerful rhetoric of legitimation through inscribing places by royal interventions with the implication of previously “untouched” landscapes, be it an inviting rock surface or an agriculturally fertile yet uncultivated territory (*terra nullius*).

The landscapes of the northern foothills of the Taurus Mountains opening to the fertile plains of the Central Anatolian plateau formed a strategic frontier between Hatti and Tarhuntaa. This region was extensively demarcated in the second half of the thirteenth century BCE with imperial Hittite monuments, most of which bear hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, such as YALBURT (sacred spring-pool complex with inscribed orthostats), EMIRGAZI (altars), KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA (limestone block associated with a Hittite dam), HATIP (rock relief), and Eflatun Pnar (sacred spring pool complex with a cult monument), among others (Glatz 2009: 136).

On the basis of the new epigraphic evidence, it is therefore compelling to argue that the Hittite high ranking officials, known in the Bronze Age as DUMU.LUGAL, “Sons of the King” and vassal kings of frontier regions, who held power in the Southern Anatolia and North

Syria, might have simply continued to sustain the control of their limited territories in the Early Iron Age and constituted the sociopolitical infrastructure of the emerging regional polities known as Syro-Hittite states. The imperial Hittite practice of organizing landscapes with cult complexes and rock reliefs with commemorative inscriptions was continued especially in the Early Iron Age states (including Assyria) while existing Hittite monuments of these landscapes most probably remained in use as durable places of memory. Explicit in the early Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments of the Iron Age is some form of redistribution of land to local elite families. Iron Age elites then initiated the cultivation of those landscapes through the plantation of orchards and vineyards and building activities, especially in the form of the construction of new cities and roads but also commemorative monuments in urban and extra-urban contexts. This phenomenon is perhaps best illustrated by the Early Iron Age kingdom of Malizi/Melid, presented in the next section.

Making Places in Malizi/Melid

One of the earliest and most prominent Early Iron Age polities in the Syro-Hittite sphere was Malizi/Melid, established in the Malatya plain on the West bank of the Upper Euphrates in Eastern Turkey (Figure 9).³⁴ This is a very fertile intermontane basin between the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges, well-watered by the Euphrates and its tributaries (the Tohma Su and Kuru Çay) and copious springs in the region, and historically famous with its abundant orchards and metal resources (Delaporte 1933: 129–132; Marcolongo and Palmieri 1983; Frangipane 1993). High soil moisture concentrates around Malatya-Arslantepe itself, while the mountainous zones around the Malatya plain are rich with iron and silver ores and lead deposits. Silver ore deposits are located in the Kii-Keban area immediately to the northeast, and the region of Ergani Maden (possibly ancient *Arqnia*) to the east has always been a rich source of copper for northern Mesopotamia.³⁵ As a result, and because of its strategic position and resources, the Malatya plain was a contested frontier territory between the Hittites and the Assyrians in the Late Bronze Age (Singer 1985), and between the Assyrians, the Urartians, and the kingdom of Tabal in the Middle Iron Age. The Early Iron Age regional state of Malizi/Melid seems to have eventually extended its territorial control west and northwest into the Middle and Upper Tohma Su valley, the Elbistan plain, and finally the Kuru Çay valley, as the distribution of monuments in the landscape suggests (Figure 9).

The earliest monument of the Iron Age from the region comes not from the Malatya plain itself, but from the Elbistan plain to the west (Figures 10 and 11). KARAHÖYÜK is a massive commemorative stele, inscribed with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. It was excavated in situ on the mound of Karahöyük in the Elbistan plain in 1947 and Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç (1949: 16–17) report that this mound is the largest mound in the Elbistan plain, located on Hurman Suyu and at a controlling position on the East–West route that crosses the plain. The monument comes from a remarkable archaeological context: it was excavated on the very top of the settlement mound, on the southwest corner of the Özgüç's excavation trench, and is associated with the earliest “post-Hittite” phase of the site, as the archaeologists called it (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 21–35). Rising some 22 m above the surrounding plain, this impressive mound was widely occupied by a modern village at the time of excavation, leaving a small undisturbed area on the very top for the excavations. The site was fortified with an extensive mudbrick fortification wall (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 18 and figure 25). In the midst of a heavily tamped earthen open plaza and raised on a rectangular base was a tall, tapering limestone stele that was set up with a stone trough for offerings and sacrifices, and a 4 by 2 m stone paved platform built directly across from it (Figure 10). Multiple deposits of ash, discarded pottery, and animal bones associated with the Iron Age levels immediately around the monument and floor remains of the first Iron Age level contemporary with the monument indicate intensive and prolonged cult practice at the site during the Iron Age. The cult activity most possibly involved animal sacrifice and ceremonial feasting.³⁶ Below the paved platform of the “post-Hittite” level of Karahöyük, archaeologists reached “Hittite Empire period” levels of the site in a limited area, which revealed a monumental building with an assemblage of several fragments of Hittite ceremonial vessels with relief decoration, stamp and cylinder seals, and bronze tools (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 36–50).

The Karahöyük stele was carved on three sides, and the hieroglyphic Luwian text was originally read by Hans Güterbock and recently published in J.D. Hawkins's corpus (Figure 11) (Güterbock 1949; Hawkins 2000 I: 289). It is closely associated with the south-central Anatolian monuments of the late second millennium BCE (KIZILDA-KARADA-BURUNKAYA group), based on the “archaism” of its sign forms and graphic usage, and is therefore also dated to early twelfth century BCE. This date is supported by the archaeological context (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 24, 34–35). Dedicated to the Storm God of the land POCULUM by Armananis “Lord of the Pithos-Men,” the stele commemorates the bequest of the land (perhaps the Elbistan plain

itself) and its three cities to the named ruler by a certain “Great King Ir-Teub.” According to the inscription, when Ir-Teub came and took over the land POCULUM as its new ruler, he “found the city empty” (obv. line 3), settled new communities there and “improved the land POCULUM for houses (and) cities” (obv. line 6) (Hawkins 2000 I: 291). Because later Malatya kings claimed a genealogical connection with the Karkamiean dynasty, it is not too far-fetched to think that the Great King who was mentioned in the KARAHÖYÜK inscription, might be one of the Karkamiean kings. However, identification with the Tarhuntaa kings is also likely.³⁷ Strobel (2008: 664, n. 128) pointed out the possibility of linking Armaninis with the office of a high functionary at Hattua. In any event, we are confronted with a monument that historically commemorates not only the foundation of a regional polity but also its several towns and the cultivation of its landscapes. Furthermore, as archaeological evidence clearly demonstrates, the site of the commemorative monument was the locus of ceremonial activity during the Iron Age at the urban core of one of the major settlements in that regional state. The correlation of these historical events in the Elbistan plain in the twelfth century BCE mentioned on the Karahöyük stele with the beginnings of the kingdom of Malizi/Melid is still a matter of debate.

The kingdom of Malizi (Melid-Milidia in Assyrian records, Melitene in classical sources) is known from the indigenous Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments, limited archaeological evidence, and Assyrian and Urartian textual sources. It was centered at the site of Arslantepe, near Eski Malatya and identified as the city of Malizi (Frangipane 1993; Hawkins 1993b). When Tukult-apil-earra (Tiglath-pileser) I (1114–1076 BC) of Assyria was returning from his expedition to the lands of Nairi and Daini in eastern Anatolia, he visited the city Milidia which, according to the king's annals, submitted to him and agreed to pay a yearly tribute of lead ore (Grayson 1991: text A.0.87.1, column v, lines 33–41). On another economically guided expedition to the Mediterranean and the coastal states, he revisited the Malatya plain and received tribute from the Malizean king “Allumari” (Grayson 1991: text A.0.87.4, line 31). It seems that already at the end of twelfth century BCE, the Malizean kingdom was a flourishing regional state, a suggestion supported by epigraphic evidence.

The excavations at Arslantepe, the capital of the kingdom, unfortunately do not provide a very thorough picture of the city during the Early Iron Age, although new archaeological work on these levels is underway under the direction of M. Frangipane (Alvaro

2010). According to Frangipane's (1993, 2004) published stratigraphic sequence from the French and Italian excavations at the site, Arslantepe features several phases of monument building activity in the Late Bronze and Early and Middle Iron Age levels. A monumental city gate structure of the Late Bronze II period (Arslantepe IV: "Imperial Gate," ca. 1500–1200 BC) in the northeast area of the mound (overlying an earlier gate structure) was built framing a central paved courtyard and had a long architectural history at the end of the Late Bronze Age. After it was destroyed by fire, it was built over by a series of domestic structures (Pecorella 1978: 138; Puglisi and Palmieri 1966). Sometime in the course of the Arslantepe III and II periods (Neo-Hittite levels, 1200–700 BCE), "two successive mudbrick defense walls on stone foundations and...a large building to the south of the gate area" were also constructed, demonstrating a substantial building program in the area (Frangipane 1993: 48; Alvaro 2010: 276). It is not clear, however, if this Early Iron Age building program involved a reconstruction of a city gate. The stratigraphic correlation between the structures excavated during separate French and Italian projects is hard to establish, which makes it particularly difficult to understand the length of the Early Iron Age in Arslantepe.

According to Frangipane and Pecorella (Frangipane 1993: 48–49; Pecorella 1978), Levels III and II of the Italian dig precede the well-known Gate of the Lions excavated by the French team between 1932 and 1939 (Figures 12 and 13). This Gate of the Lions is a rebuilding of the city gate slightly later in the Iron Age on the exact spot of the "Imperial Gate" of Level IV. It is associated with the final building activities before the supposed Assyrian takeover of the town at the time of Sargon II. The new gate gave access to a large stone paved court of a "palace with mud-brick and wood walls extending over three terraces" (Frangipane 1993: 50). On epigraphic, stylistic, and architectural grounds, the dating of the carved and inscribed orthostat blocks that were found incorporated into the Gate suggests that this important structure must have been built with spoliated blocks from earlier structures (Özyar 1991: 163, Pecorella 1967: 174). Several of the Malatya orthostats (Malatya 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14) and a broken stele (Malatya 14) were inscribed with the name of the Malizean king PUGNUS-mili, who is either the direct descendant of Kuzi-Teub of Karkami or his grandson, according to Hawkins's reconstruction of the Malatya dynasty (Hawkins 2000 I: 287). In any case, the orthostats are stylistically dated to the twelfth or eleventh century BCE, which seems stratigraphically an untenable date for the Gate of the Lions structure itself.³⁸ Spolia, an architectural practice of linking new structures to former environments of power, is a common

aspect of the building programs in Syro-Hittite cities, well recorded in urban structures at Karkamish and Karatepe (Özyar 1998a). In this sense, it is quite significant that in the Syro-Hittite cities of the Early Iron Age spoliation may have acted as a memory practice that materially and visually linked the Early Iron Age polities to their Bronze Age pasts in the region.

In terms of landscape commemoration and expanding settlement in Malatya's hinterland, however, the monuments outside Malatya are far more revealing and informative. These free-standing steles and rock reliefs with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions are mapped in Figure 8 and listed in Table 2, in approximate chronological order and with reference to their geographical location, monument type, textual content, and pictorial imagery. Of the dynasty descending from Kuzi-Teub, the ruler Runtiyas, son of PUGNUS-mili, is mainly known from two rock inscriptions, one at GÜRÜN in the Upper Tohma Su valley and the other at KÖTÜKALE on the Middle Tohma Su.³⁹ The GÜRÜN rock inscription commemorates the king's settlement of new frontier lands, including the city of Taita[?] and others, while KÖTÜKALE records the construction of a royal road by the same ruler. At the time of Runtiyas, already in the twelfth century BCE, the Malizean regional state appears to be expanding westward and controlling the Middle and Upper Tohma Su valleys, which connected the Malatya plain to Tabal and to the central Anatolian plateau (Figure 9). The ruler Arnuwantis (early eleventh century BCE), also son of PUGNUS-mili and brother of Runtiyas, seems to have preferred to commission a series of commemorative monuments in the form of steles with inscriptions and pictorial representations. The findspots of his two prominent steles at SPEKÇÜR and DARENDE suggests the continued importance of the Tohma Su valley during his reign.

SPEKÇÜR is a four-sided, 2.27 m tall obelisk-like, limestone stele with pictorial representations of three standing human figures on three sides, all depicted as involved in some sort of ceremonial activity and in various spatial contexts (Figure 14) (Hawkins 2000 I: 301; Orthmann 1971: 117). The stele was reportedly seen in the village of spekçür in 1907 by the Cornell Expedition, and was found broken in four fragments in Gök Medrese, in Sivas, in 1935 (Gelb 1939: 30–31, no. 28). DARENDE is a much smaller (79 cm in height), round-topped basalt stele with similar reliefs on three sides (Figure 15). The DARENDE stele had been used as a *spolia* in the wall of Ulu Cami's minaret in Eski Darende and transferred to Gök Medrese in Sivas (Gelb 1939: 27–

28; no. 18). The inscriptions of both monuments commemorate Arnuwantis's accomplishments of settlement in the region with special reference to the organization of mountainous landscapes, which may be associated with pictorial depictions of the hilly landscapes on the SPEKÇÜR stele and the three mountains mentioned in GÜRÜN inscription.⁴⁰

The author of IZGN stele, Taras[?] (written CRUS + RA/I) “the Hero, the Maliziean Country-Lord” cannot be related easily to the PUGNUS-mili dynasty because he does not give his genealogy. The inscription, however, is still dated to eleventh to tenth centuries BCE, based on its paleography in agreement with the GÜRÜN and SPEKÇÜR monuments (Hawkins 2000 I: 314–318). IZGN is another obelisk-like monument of substantial height (2.45 m) inscribed on all four sides (Figure 16). It was found in the midst of Elbistan plain, re-used in a modern cemetery at the village Izgn near the confluence of Ceyhan river and Hurman Suyu and only 5 km southwest of Karahöyük. The lengthy hieroglyphic Luwian inscription is at least in part worth quoting here because it commemorates the expansion of Maliziean settlement into the Elbistan plain and the foundation of new cities:

izgin 1

In my pa[ternal grandfatherl]y (?) countries, I added frontiers
upon frontiers.

and I added river-lands upon river-lands

I built the city Taita (?)

and I settled the Malizi(eans)

I settled the...river (people) up in the towns of YALIYASA-,
and the city PITHOS.GRYLLUS by my authority...

(Hawkins 2000 I: 315)

The city of Taita was also mentioned in the earlier GÜRÜN inscription (§2), and this suggests that this town was a place of renewed royal building activity and should be placed somewhere in the Tohma Su valley or the Elbistan plain.

Table 3. *The kingdom of Malizi/Melid and the most prominent Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments by the kings (Based on Hawkins 2000).*

Ruler	Columnar/stone Monument	Monument type and archaeological context	Location in Malaya plain	Inscription content	Date
Armananin, Lord of the Mahabharata	EA040006 (Ankara Anadolu Ethnology Museum inv. 10754)	Stele, excavated in an urban context at the highest part of a mound, evidence for cultic activity and housing.	Uluatan plain; Largest <i>happit</i> on the place, located on <i>Thamara Saka</i> .	Dedication to Storm God of the Land Pothara, Great King In-Potha visits and finds city empty, improves the land with houses and cities, the land and 3 cities requested to Armananin.	Early seventh century BCE
Rant'ya, grandson of Anu-Potha, the Great King, Lord of Karkemish, son of Pothu-milli, Country-Lord of the city Maliti	G0109	A pair of rock inscriptions in situ.	Upper Tuhama Su valley, narrow gorge, on modern Malaya, Kiprot road NW see the most monument of the dynasty.	Settlement policy of the King Burriyat, increasing the city Tuhiti and increasing <i>Thuyti</i> (Pothara and Pame) [...], God Caka-Neret-Guk, Great Goddess Papatu, Great God Sararama are addressed.	Early twelfth century BCE
Rant'ya, grandson of Anu-Potha, the Great King, Lord of Karkemish, son of Pothu-milli, Country-Lord of the city Maliti	E0104001	Rock inscription in situ.	Middle Tuhama Su valley, modern (but now old) Valtipra-Trombe road, downstream from Duzakici, narrow gorge of the river.	Continuation of a "house road"	Early twelfth century BCE
Armananin, a grandson of Rant' Tuhiti, the Great, son of Pothu-milli, Country-Lord of the city Maliti	B00010 (Istanbul Museum inv. 342)	Stele, discovered in village form (1 fragment) at the village of Ispakur. 4 sides. Side is sculpted on a talus, with the three figures engaged in ceremonial activity. In various spatial contexts, this is probably goddess Happa (protecting against an architectural background), one to the god Sararama (board case, fringed long robe, curved limbs, shoes with upturned toes) and one (on side C) is the King Armananin (making libation).	Middle Tuhama Su valley, Village of Ispakur, 20 km downstream from Duzakici.	Settlement policy of the King Armananin.	Early eleventh century BCE (?)
<i>(continued)</i>					
Ruler	Columnar/stone Monument	Monument type and archaeological context	Location in Malaya plain	Inscriptions content	Date
Armananin, grandson of Rant' Tuhiti, the Great, son of Pothu-milli, Country-Lord of the city Maliti	D000000 (Ankara Anadolu Ethnology Museum)	Stele, 4 sided, main round topped and oval, tapering, large side depicts goddess Happa of the City (with cartouches also in a banquet scene) on the narrow side is Sararama and a seated woman king, standing on a lion, making libation in honor of the two gods.	Middle Tuhama Su valley, Stevia from Iltu Gemi in the Duzakici.	Foundation and settlement of a city ".....umara"	Early eleventh century BCE (?)
Taras, the Hero, Country-Lord of the city Maliti	B000 (Ankara Anadolu Museum, Istanbul, inv. 2012)	Stele, tall and obelisk-like, with two sets of inscriptions.	Uluatan plain, in the context of the village legum.	Building activities and settlement policy of the Malaya king. Foundation of the city of Tuhiti and the settlement of Malazara to that city. Extension of borders and settlement in the towns of Yavruvaca and Iltuvay of Pothu-milli are also mentioned. Dedication to the Storm-God.	eleventh to tenth centuries BCE (?)
Se(2)Brentiyas, the Hero, Country-Lord of Malaya, the Hero Sebulu's son, Rant'ya's dear servant.	S000	Rock inscription (labeled as "1st inscription" in the inscription) in situ.	Upper Kuru Cay valley, Near modern Malaya stream road, carved on a rocky hillside.	The numerous entries of a construction of a monument related to the site, possibly the rock monument itself is some architectural complex associated with it.	Early to mid eighth century BCE

The “Country-Lords” of the city Malizi in the Malatya plain gradually incorporated the Tohma Su valley and the Elbistan basin, which constituted strategic landscapes to control the overland route to the central Anatolian plateau and north Syria and Cilicia. The prominence of this micro-region in the Early Iron Age is further supported by Tukult-apil-earra I's visit to Melid/Malizi on his return to Aur from his campaign to the Mediterranean, and his inscription of his own rock-cut monuments at the “Source of the Tigris” (Harmanah 2007b). Unfortunately, the regions of the Malatya plain, the Tohma Su valley, and the Elbistan plain were subject to only limited archaeological research, except for excavations at Arslantepe and the emergency (salvage) surveys related to dam construction. The survey in Sivas and Malatya provinces carried out by Jak Yakar and Aye Gürsan-Salzmann in August 1977 used only extensive survey methods and was published briefly, although they do report intense settlement

between Eski Malatya and the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tohma Su valley (Yakar and Gürsan-Salzmänn 1979: 38, also 1978). Mehmet Özdoan and his team's much more intensive survey in the Lower Euphrates Basin in the area later flooded by the Karakaya Dam had identified forty archaeological sites in the "central district of Malatya" (Özdoan 1977: 25–28). At least fifteen of the surveyed sites had evidence for Middle-Late Bronze Age occupation, while seventeen are reported for the Iron Age, suggesting a substantial continuity of settlement in the landscape, especially at the large mound sites such as Pırot Höyük, Cafer Harabesi, Kadoturán Tepesi, and Kökerbaba Höyük (Özdoan 1977: 50–56). Veli Sevin's (1987) survey of the Urartian frontiers on the Euphrates in Malatya, Elaz, and Bingöl provinces focused only on the eastern bank of the river. The most recent surface survey in the vicinity of Arslantepe by the Italian team reports a dearth of Iron Age settlements, although this might be a result of the project's specific focus on the prehistoric periods and the difficulties in identifying Iron Age ceramics (Di Nocera 2005). When the non-inscribed monuments of the Early and Middle Iron Age, such as the lion sculpture in Sevdiliköy (Eralp 1998) and Aslanta (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 11–15, figures 16 and 17), are brought into the picture alongside with the survey data for mapping the Malizean kingdom, the concentration of monuments in the Middle Tohma Su and Elbistan basins is distinctive (Figure 9). Furthermore, the marking of narrow river valleys in the frontiers of the kingdom's territories with rock reliefs and inscriptions also seems to be significant in the organization of Malizean landscapes.

The restless times during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition in northern Syria and southern Anatolia present us with moving landscapes and changing practices of place-making. In the last century of the Hittite Empire, one sees a gradual shift of territorial power from the empire's central Anatolian core in the Kızılırmak bend to its fringes around Karkami in north Syria and Tarhuntaa in Cilicia, and eventually Tabal in Cappadocia and Malizi on the upper Euphrates. The hallmark of these geopolitical transformations, as archaeological survey evidence suggests, is a reconfiguration of the settlement landscape from an urban-focused pattern to a dispersed and rural one, from territorial systems of imperial power to regional kingdoms of local landholding dynasties. The story of the beginnings of the Iron Age in these territories, however, would be incomplete if we neglect the evidence from the commemorative monuments, both of the time of the late Hittite Empire and monuments raised in the aftermath of its collapse. These monuments appear as steles, rock reliefs, spring monuments, and city gates that often feature

hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and pictorial relief programs, and they speak to an official ideology of the state. It is clear that in many instances, in the context of such a fluid, politically contested world, these monuments appropriate places and landscapes that are culturally invested with meaning or simply sacred to local populations, hence considered as “places of power” (ivkovi 2010). Excavations at Elbistan Karahöyük and Malatya Arslantepe, which were discussed previously, demonstrate how the places of certain importance during the Late Bronze Age in the Elbistan and Malatya plains were incorporated into the Early Iron Age kingdom of Malizi through the raising of monuments and construction of towns. Further archaeological fieldwork is necessary to understand this relationship between Bronze Age places and settlements and their monumentalization in the Iron Age.

In the commemorative inscriptions, one finds an intriguing royal rhetoric of founding cities, settling populations in the agriculturally cultivated frontiers, and the construction of royal roads in an attempt to connect those peripheral landscapes to the core of the regional state. This formed the ideological content and historical context of the Malizean commemorative monuments. As evident from the only archaeologically excavated monument from the region, KARAHÖYÜK, the sites of the commemorative steles remained loci of cultic and ceremonial activity at the very center of the urban landscapes, while rock reliefs and inscriptions marked important passes in the mountainous landscapes of the Malatya region. In the case of the Malizean kingdom in particular and for the other Iron Age states of upper Mesopotamia in general, it seems possible to draw the conceptual correlation between the setting-up of commemorative royal monuments and the foundation of cities, both of which were important tools in the cultural politics of territorial organization. The earliest building activities in Iron Age centers of Karkami, Hama, Aleppo, ‘Ain Dara, and Zincirli in the twelfth through eleventh centuries BCE were contemporaneous with developments in the Malizean kingdom (Mazzoni 2000a: 31–37), and arguably one could suggest that comparable settlement strategies and commemorative activities were carried out across the region.

Settling Agro-Pastoralists, Moving Capitals

One further crucial aspect of the Syro-Hittite landscapes in the Early

Iron Age that remains to be discussed before we move on to Assyria is the short-distance transfer of the regional centers from declined Bronze Age capital cities to newly founded Iron Age urban centers. If a “region” (pertaining to a geographically and culturally well-defined microecology) is a meaningful archaeological spatial unit in explaining landscape processes, the mobility (that is, the displacement of regional centers at the socioeconomic and political core of the region) is crucial in understanding the long-term transformations of these micro-regional landscapes. In a number of cases in upper Mesopotamia, the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition is marked with a large scale abandonment of a capital city and the foundation of an urban center in the Iron Age in close proximity to the former, while this particular event is taken as symbolizing the establishment of a new Iron Age polity. One interesting case for this process is represented by the urban settlements at Tell Fekheriye (ancient Sikana) and Tell Halaf / Gzna in the Upper Habur valley; the former an important Mitannian–Late Bronze Age city, the latter the capital of the Iron Age Aramaean polity of *Bt-Bahini*.

An important cultural group that dominated the Syro-Mesopotamian steppe lands especially in the Middle Euphrates and the Habur were the agro-pastoralist groups, referred to in the Assyrian annals of the late twelfth to early eleventh centuries BCE as *ahlamû* KUR.*armaya*.ME, usually translated as *ahlamû*-Aramaeans.⁴¹ Written from an urban-centric point of view, these early textual sources consistently marginalize the Aramaean agro-pastoralist groups by locating them to the “desert” (*madbaru*) and representing them as outsiders, intruders, or barbarians. However, there is no evidence for Aramaic-speaking groups to be foreign to Syro-Mesopotamia prior to the Early Iron Age. In fact, the evidence is to the contrary (Schwartz 1989: 277; Sader 2000). Widely understood as tribally organized sheep and goat pastoralists or sedentary agriculturists indigenous to Syro-Mesopotamia, the Aramaeans inhabited the arid steppe land in the margins of the Middle Euphrates and other Jazirah valley systems. This dissemination needs to be understood as part of the long-term history of the marginal steppe environments of upper Mesopotamia, where pastoralist activities are increased in certain periods (Lyonnet 2001). By effectively controlling the overland routes of circulation, Aramaeans were primarily filling in the power vacuum that was created by the collapse of the Late Bronze Age centers. Contemporaneous with the formation of Luwian-speaking states in the Early Iron Age (eleventh and tenth centuries BCE), upper Mesopotamia witnessed the gradual process of the settlement of these Aramaic-speaking populations in the form of a constellation of regional states,

either territorially interspersed with Luwian states or even mixed with them. Some prominent examples of these Aramaean states were *Bt-Bahini* in the Upper Habur valley, *Sam'al* in the Islahiye plain at the Eastern foot of Amanus mountains, *Bt-Adini* on the upper Middle Euphrates in the area of Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip, and *Bt-Agsi* in the area of Tel Rifa'at/Arpad near Aleppo. The territorial consolidation of the early Aramaean kingdoms involved a substantial process of urbanization through the construction of new cities, which was most intense in the tenth to ninth centuries BCE (Sader 2000: 72–75; Mazzoni 1994). By the time of Aṛ-nasir-apli II, not only did Aramaean states have “royal cities” (*alni arrti*) and “fortified cities” (*alni dannti*) that were mentioned in Assyrian texts, but Aramaic was in the process of becoming the lingua franca across upper Mesopotamia (Ikeda 1979; Lipiski 2000a).

The urbanization of the Aramaic-speaking agro-pastoralists may indeed be seen as a culmination of a process that involved the continuous influx of nomadic populations into urban centers, especially in the Early Iron Age. M.B. Rowton (1973a) argued that agricultural land and pasture land were closely interwoven in the Near East, and that the urban center and the steppe land continuously exchanged populations. In his definition of “enclosed nomadism,” the agro-pastoralists of the steppe and the urban dwellers always had a symbiotic relationship while the city in the midst of nomadic territories acted as the mediatory space between the nomads and the state (Rowton 1973b; 1974). The gradual sedentarization of the late second and early first millennium BCE Aramaic-speaking groups of upper Mesopotamia have been presented as a good case of Rowton's transhistorical and cross-cultural findings. According to this hypothesis, sedentarizing elites of the nomadic and seminomadic groups eventually became landowners with access to the socioeconomic and political power structures of the urban environment. I would like to suggest here that the Aramaean takeover of several formerly Luwian cities, such as Masuwari (Tell Ahmar), may be understood as a culmination of a similar process. It is perhaps possible to speculate a link between perfectly circular or rectangular urban plans of certain Iron Age cities such as Zincirli and the settlement format of nomadic camps.

In the Early Iron Age, the site of Tell Ahmar (ancient Masuwari/Til Barsip), located at an important Euphrates crossing, had been the seat of the Luwian-speaking rulers who erected a series of monumental stelae, many of which were dedicated to the Storm God Tarhunzas

(Hawkins 2000 I: 224–248; Bunnens 2006). Commemorative in nature, at least some of these Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions refer to the construction of cities.⁴² The Syro-Hittite cultural character of the city seems to have continued at least until the Assyrian takeover of the city in mid-ninth century BCE. However, sometime in early ninth century, when the activity of the Arameans in the region had intensified, the prevailing political ideology of the city seems to have shifted toward an Aramaic orientation, as Til Barsip was referred in the annals of Shalmaneser III as the “fortified city” or “royal city” of Ahunu,⁴³ the Aramaean ruler of the state of Bt Adini.⁴⁴ When Shalmaneser III captured this urban center in 856 BCE, the city was refounded with the newly appointed toponym Kr-ulmnu-aardu (Usually *Kar-Shalmaneser* in the literature) as the seat of the Assyrian provincial administration in this region, eventually the residence of a *bl-phti*.⁴⁵ Twin city Pit(i)ru, across the river on the West bank, was also refounded by Shalmaneser as Ana-Ar-utr-asbat (Grayson 1996: 22–23; text A.O.102.2: lines 81b–86a). The close interaction and political contestation between the urban centers and the pastoralist groups of their peripheral steppe land is therefore well-illustrated by the complex urban history of Til Barsip. The trilingual (hieroglyphic Luwian, Aramaic, Assyrian cuneiform) inscription of the portal lion from the site of Arslanta (ancient Hadatu), which was erected by a certain “Masuwarean Country-Lord” of the eighth century BCE in commemoration of the foundation of the city of Hatata, reinforces the coexistence of multiple cultural affiliations of the society in the region even during the Middle Iron Age (Hawkins 2000 I: 246–248, pl. 103–105).

Another outstanding example of Early Iron Age Aramaean urbanization is known from the Western Upper Habur valley near the headwaters of the Habur River. In the Late Bronze Age, this region had its most prominent urban center at the massive 80-ha site of Tell Fekheriye, as known from the archaeological work at the site in 1940s.⁴⁶ From the soundings of the Oriental Institute project at the site in 1940, it was recognized that the most important levels were dated to the Late Bronze Age. In Sounding VI, the house of a wealthy Middle Assyrian merchant was excavated and the archaeological assemblage included cuneiform tablets with the names of *limmu* officials of Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 BCE) and Tukult Ninurta I (1233–1197 BCE) and thirteenth century cylinder seal impressions.⁴⁷ Sounding IX located an “Iron Age” monumental “*hilani*” structure that was built on top of the walls from the thirteenth century (Pruss and Bagdo 2002: 318 and Abb. 3), and in the compacted fill immediately below the foundations of the building (Floor 6, where the excavation

stopped), carved ivories of Late Bronze Age date were excavated (McEwan et al. 1958: 1–10). The Iron Age structure, however, is dated to the ninth to seventh centuries BCE, but no Early Iron Age pottery was recognized from the entire site (McEwan et al. 1958: 25). Tell Fekheriye is identified through the textual evidence with ancient Sikni, a major cult-center of the Weather God Hadad-Teub in the form of Bl Habur, “the Lord of the river Habur” (Novák 1999: 189).

Only about 2 km to the southwest of Tell Fekheriye is the site of Tell Halaf, where Guzna (Aramaic *gwzn*), the capital city of the Aramaean kingdom Bt Bahini, was founded on top of the Chalcolithic mound sometime in the Early Iron Age (Figures 17 and 18). The site was excavated by the German diplomat Max Freiherr von Oppenheim in the early twentieth century (Oppenheim et al. 1950). The Early Iron Age stratigraphy of the site from von Oppenheim's excavations is not clear enough to suggest a refined chronology of the construction of the city (Orthmann 2002a: 27), but the presence of the monochrome handmade ceramics with grooved decoration within the archaeological assemblage from the Iron Age levels of the site (*altmonochromen Waren*), suggests that the settlement at the site should probably be placed quite early in the Iron Age, because this particular type of pottery is considered diagnostic for the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the region (Bartl 1989). The urban layout of Guzna with its rectilinear layout featuring a monumental citadel overlooking the Habur River valley is unmistakably suggestive of an overall conceptualization of the foundation. The evidence at hand suggests that the initiation of the Early Iron Age Aramaean polity was marked by the foundation of a capital city, whereas the regional center in the western Upper Habur was displaced from the declined Bronze Age settlement mound, but not too far from it. Testified by the limited building activity at Tell Fekheriye in the Middle Iron Age, Sikni presumably held its cultic significance throughout the Iron Age but ceased to be the seat of political power and the economic capital of the region.

The short distance shift of the regional urban center during the Late Bronze–Iron Age transition is also known from the Amuq plain. Whereas the important regional capital and port of trade Alalah (Tell Atchana) was abandoned by the end of the Late Bronze Age, the foundation of a new regional center at the site of Tell Ta'yinat (possibly ancient Kunulua), immediately (approximately 1.5 km) northwest of Tell Atchana marked the reorganization of the Amuq political landscape during the formation of the Syro-Hittite kingdoms

in the region (Harrison 2001: 124–129). Founded on top of a third-millennium mound in the Early Iron Age, Tell Ta'ynat was a truly monumental center in the Iron Age, evident from its architectural corpus and commemorative monuments with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions.

In Horden and Purcell's discussion of urban centers (2000: 89–122), cities are understood as fluid entities, that “fade, intensify, or shift” over time, depending on the landscape processes within which they operate. Many such geographical shifts of regional socioeconomic and political centers took place in the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition, during which upper Mesopotamian landscapes were reconfigured by means of novel policies of urbanization and territorial control. Therefore, the foundation of new regional capitals must be seen as events on the surface that *reveal* rather than *determine* such broader scale and gradual transformations in settlement systems. Moreover, the environmental degradation in the settlement mounds of Bronze Age cities, overcrowded with several episodes of monumental construction must have contributed to the abandonment of large mounds. The elite strategy to politically dissociate the royal household from the burdensome bureaucratic space of the former capitals was possibly another factor affecting this phenomenon. According to Joffe (1998a: 568), new capital cities were placed at sufficient distance from the earlier centers “to disrupt the existing patterns of sociopolitical organization” but their proximity enhanced their accessibility and the continuity of their geopolitical power. These hypotheses obviously need to be tested by problem-oriented archaeological fieldwork and the study of relevant epigraphic sources if available. In the next chapter, I investigate the Middle Assyrian and Early Neo-Assyrian urbanization of the Middle and Upper Tigris and the Habur valleys, a process which is comparable and complementary to the Syro-Hittite urbanization of the Early Iron Age.

In this chapter, I advocated the adoption of a landscape approach in archaeology to the study of city foundations. This approach must necessarily be sensitive both to the local politics of place-making in micro-regional contexts and to long-term changes and fluid connections in broader networks of settlement. I attempted to draw attention to the moving landscapes and shifting geographical imaginations in upper Mesopotamia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. This is a dynamic time period punctuated by a major systemic collapse in the eastern Mediterranean but it is also marked with radical changes in material culture. In addition, I focused on the

local articulations of landscapes in the confines of the regional state of Malizi/Melid in eastern Turkey. Discussing the variety of building projects and monument-making activities of the “country lords of Malizi,” I pointed to the intimate relationship between founding cities, cultivating newly acquired agricultural land, settling populations, and commemorating all those on steles, rock reliefs, and the architecture of city gates, which themselves became hubs of cult activity. The evidence suggests that such state-sponsored activities of building landscapes and making places do not necessarily take place in a barren topography, but instead take over and appropriate an already sedimented cultural landscape. This can only be demonstrated convincingly, however, through regionally focused archaeological landscape projects with specific research questions, and a critical reading of epigraphic sources in tandem.

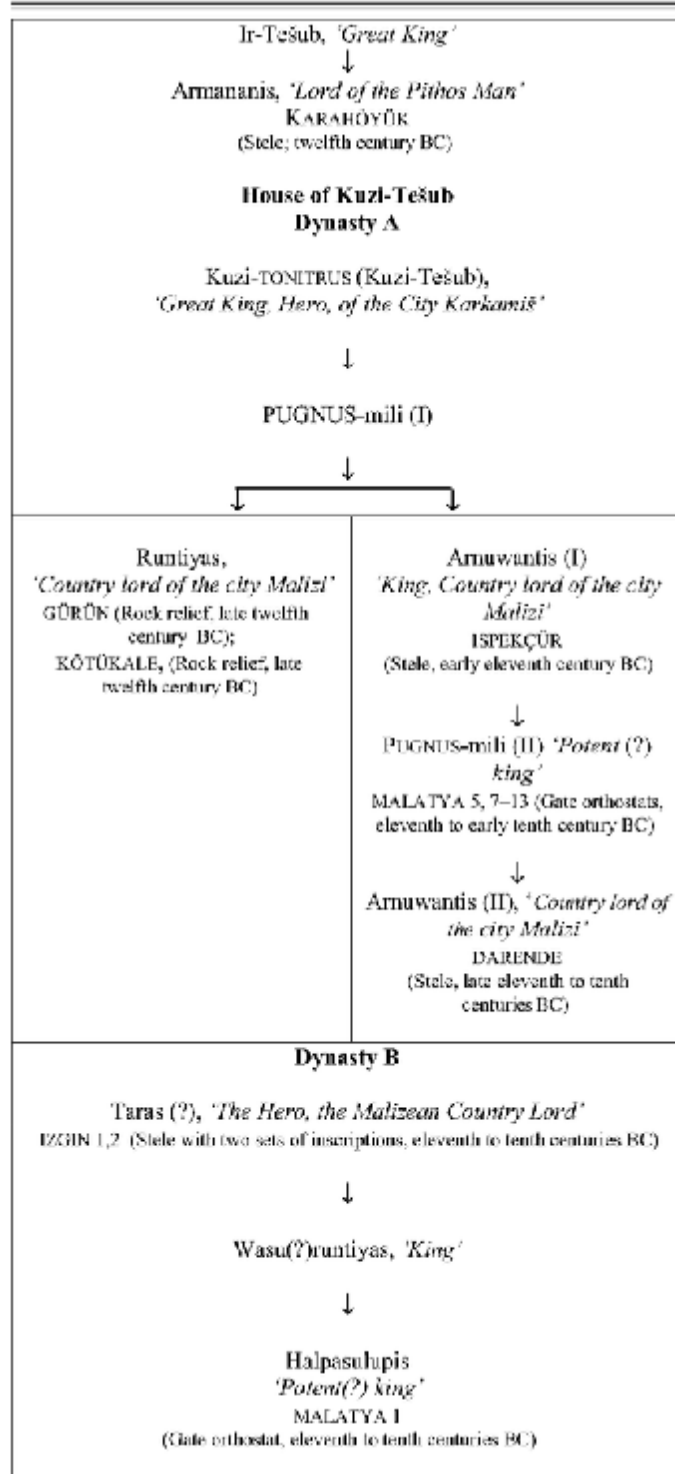
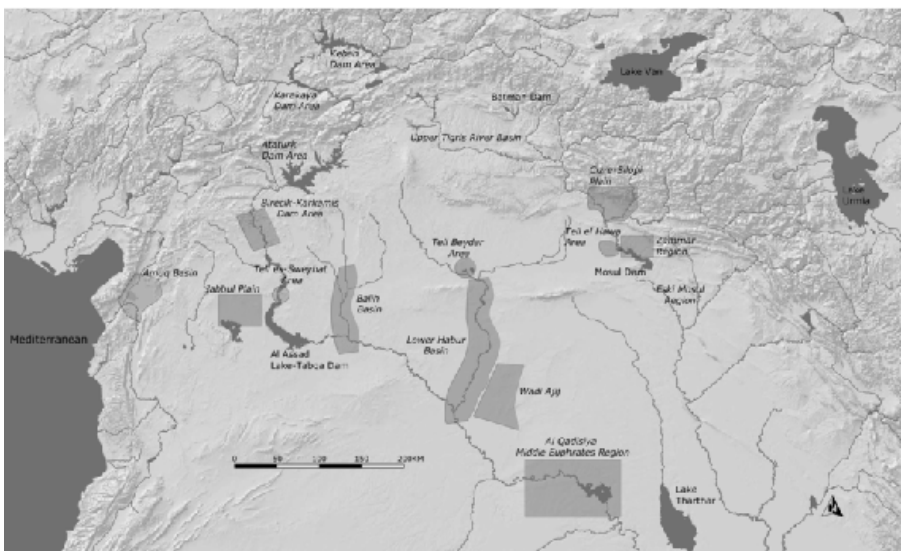
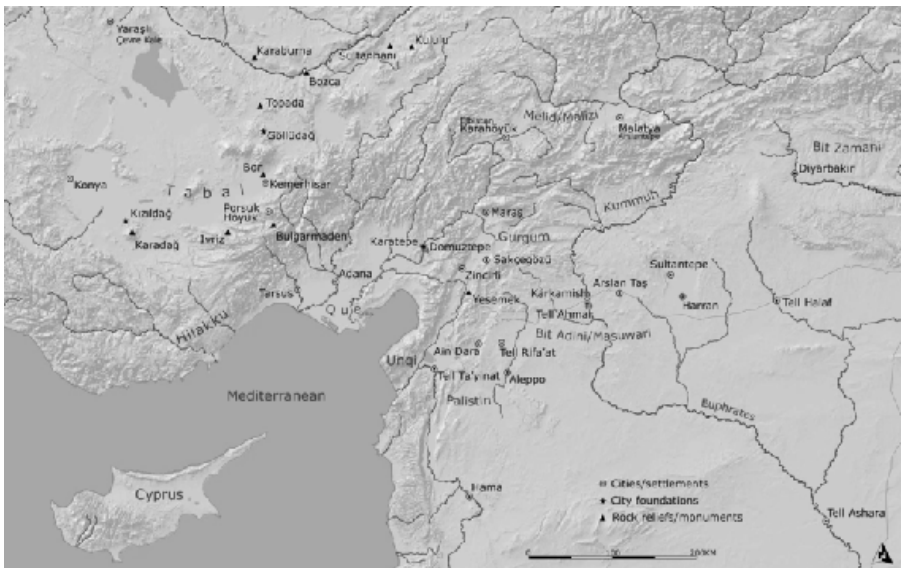


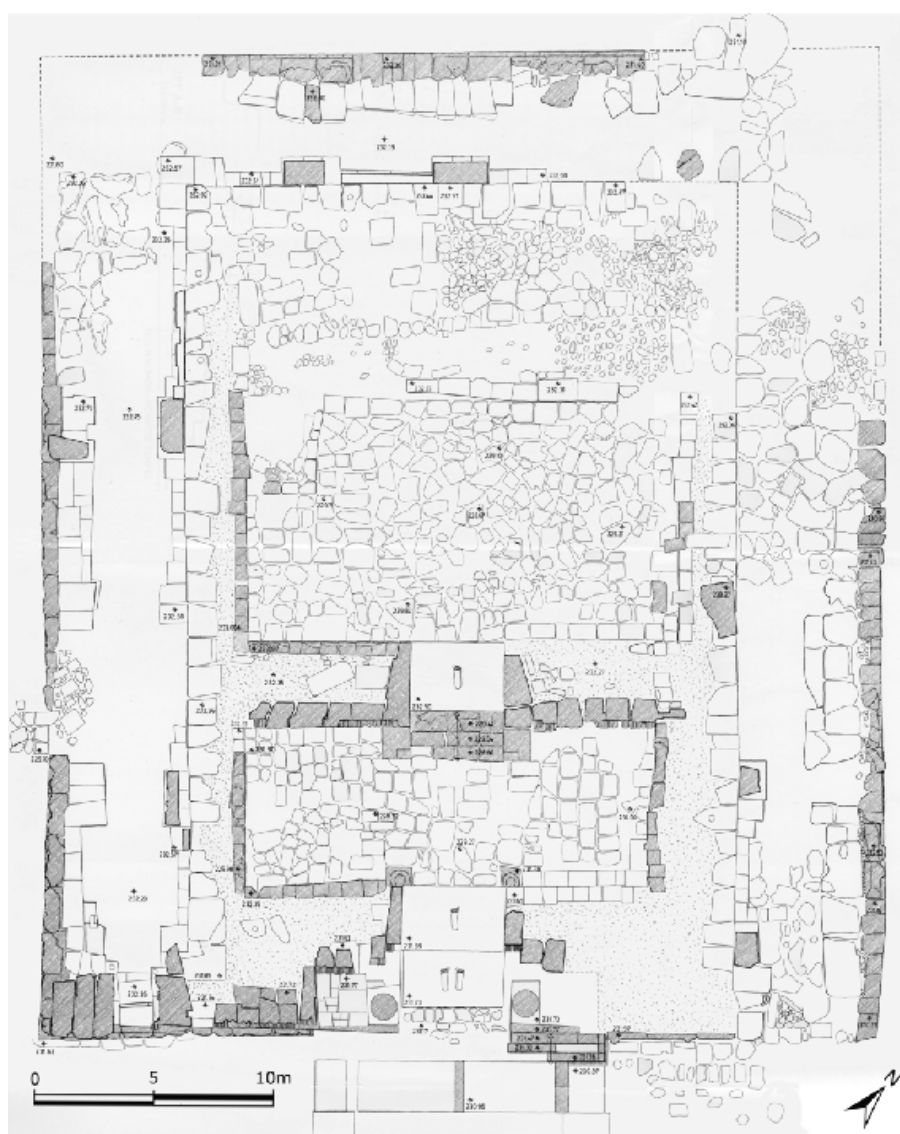
Table 2. Genealogy of Malizean kings (Based on Hawkins [2000](#))



2 Map of main archaeological survey projects in Upper Mesopotamia.
(Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief)



3 Syro-Hittite states and main Iron Age settlements. (Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief, World Linear Water and World Countries)



4 Tell 'Ain Dara. Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age temple plan.
(Courtesy of Deutsche Archäologische Institut Damascus Branch)



5 Tell 'Ain Dara. Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age temple, general view.



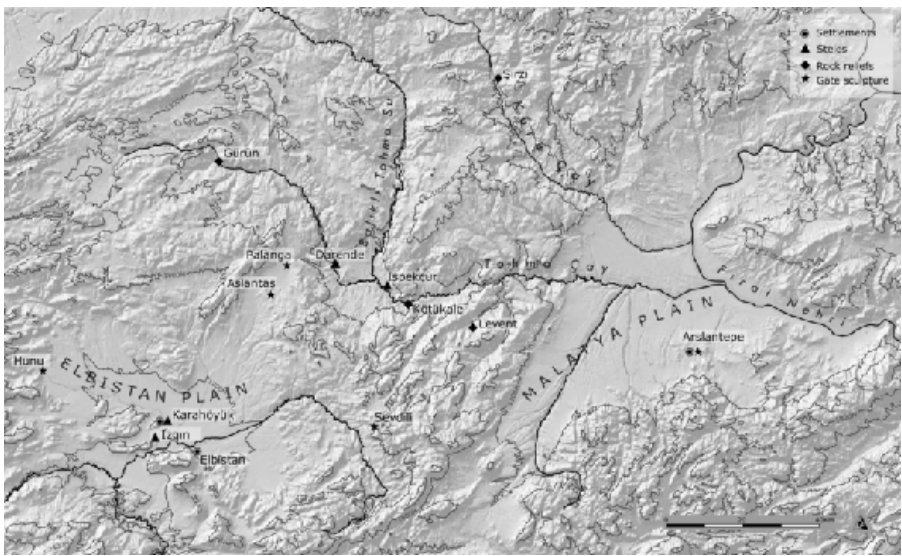
6 Temple of the Halabean Storm God, Aleppo Citadel. Plan.
(Kohlmeyer [2011](#): Fig. 1) (Courtesy of Kay Kohlmeyer)



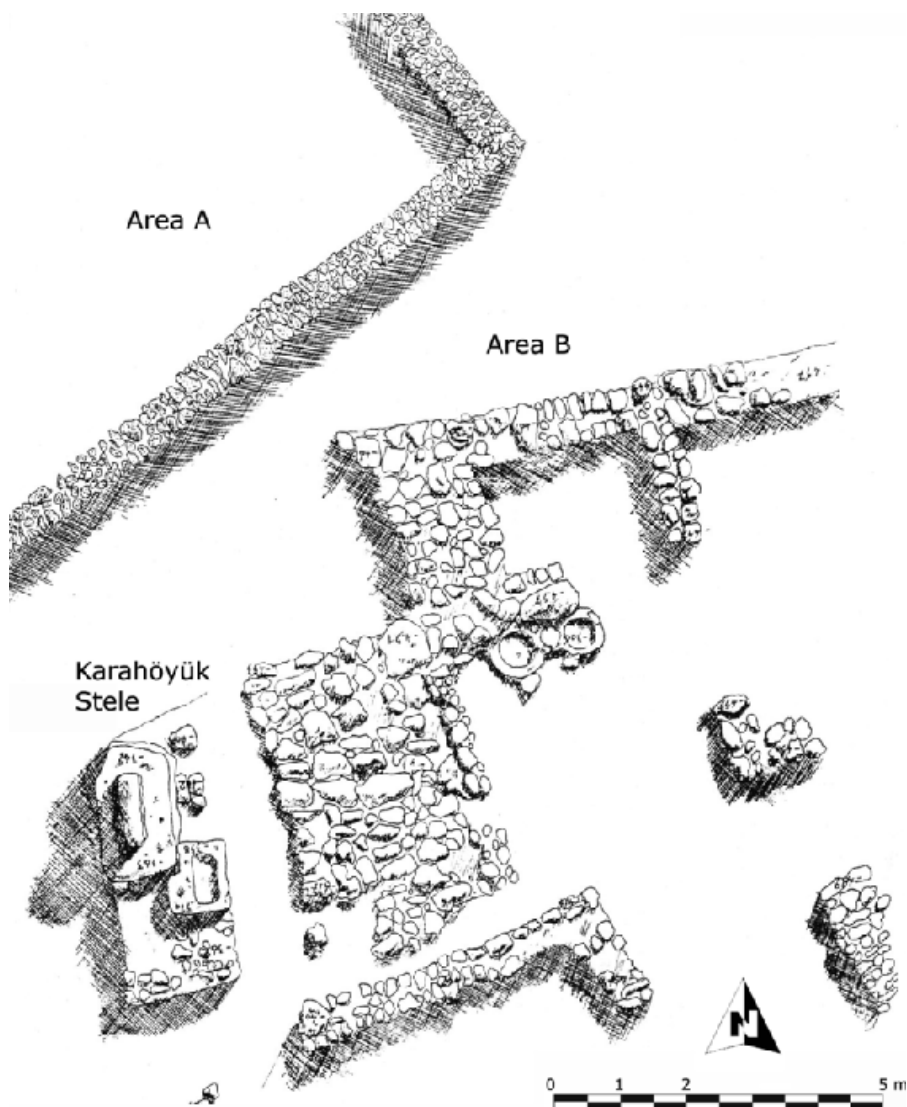
7 Temple of the Halabean Storm God, Aleppo Citadel. Orthostats.



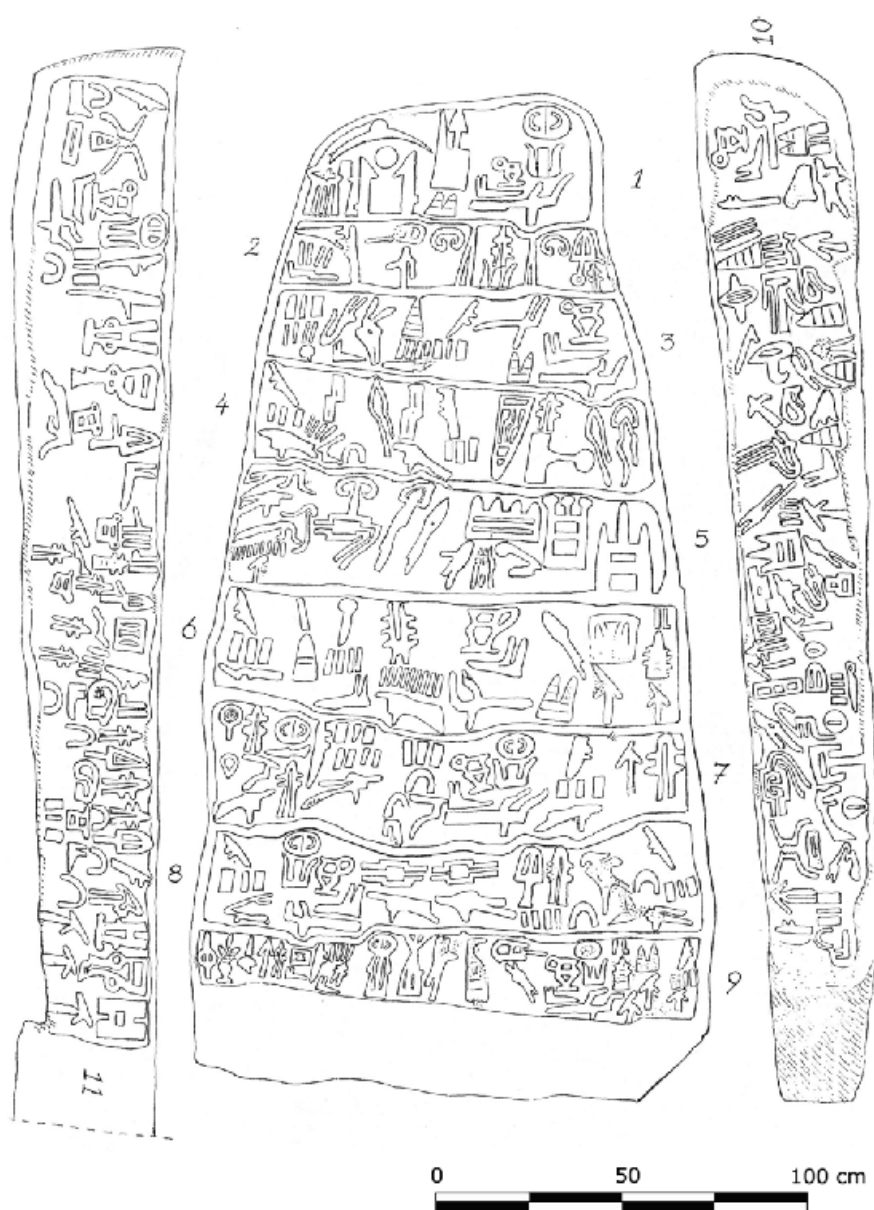
8 Kzlda: Rock relief and inscriptions of Hartapu, overlooking the dried Hotam Lake.



9 Map of the Early Iron Age sites and monuments of Malizi/Melid.
 (Base Map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief, World Linear Water, and World Elevation Contours)



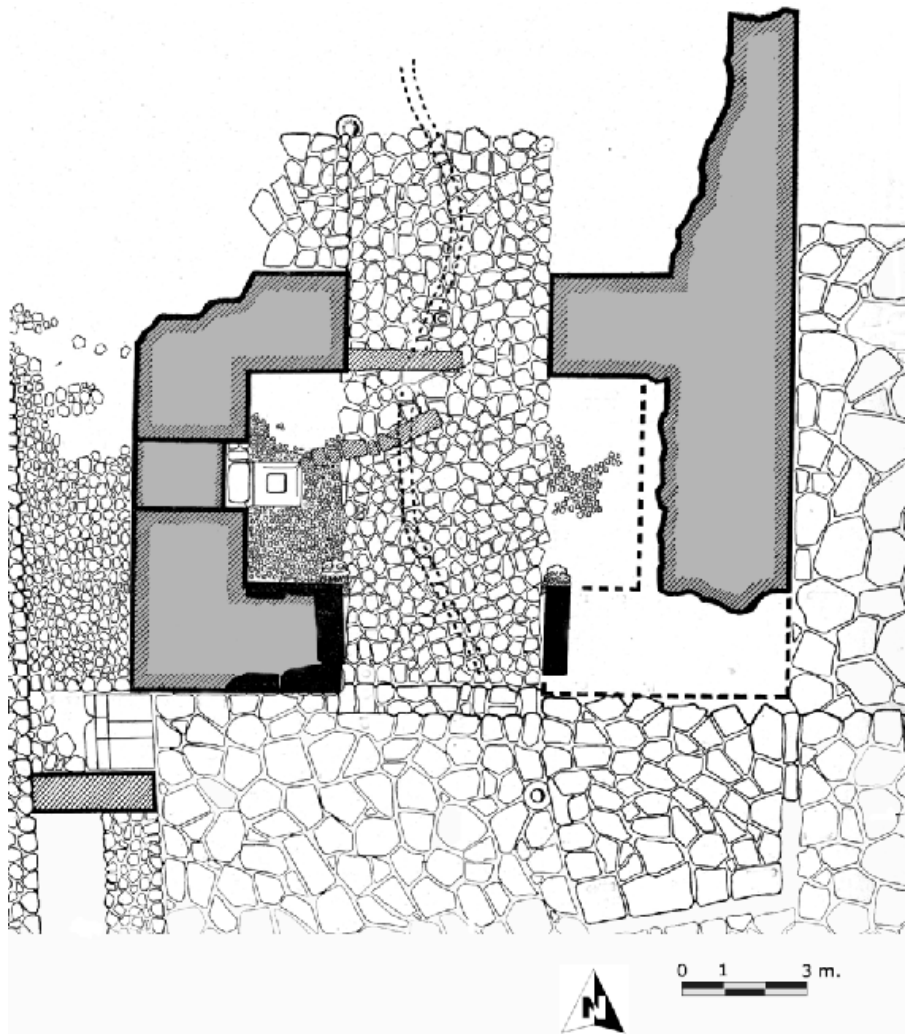
10 Elbistan Karahöyük mound, pot-Hittite level Phase 2 plan: archaeological context of the Hieroglyphic Luwian stele (adapted from Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: plan 4). Image courtesy of the Directorate of the Turkish Historical Foundation, Ankara, Turkey.



11 Elbistan Karahöyük Hieroglyphic Luwian stele. (Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: pl. 49; Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Inventory no. 10754). Image courtesy of the Directorate of the Turkish Historical Foundation, Ankara, Turkey.



12 Arslantepe (Malatya) topographic site plan (adapted from Delaporte 1940: pl. XI).



13 Arslantepe (Malatya) plan of the Iron Age "Gate of the Lions"
(adapted from Delaporte 1940: pl. XII).



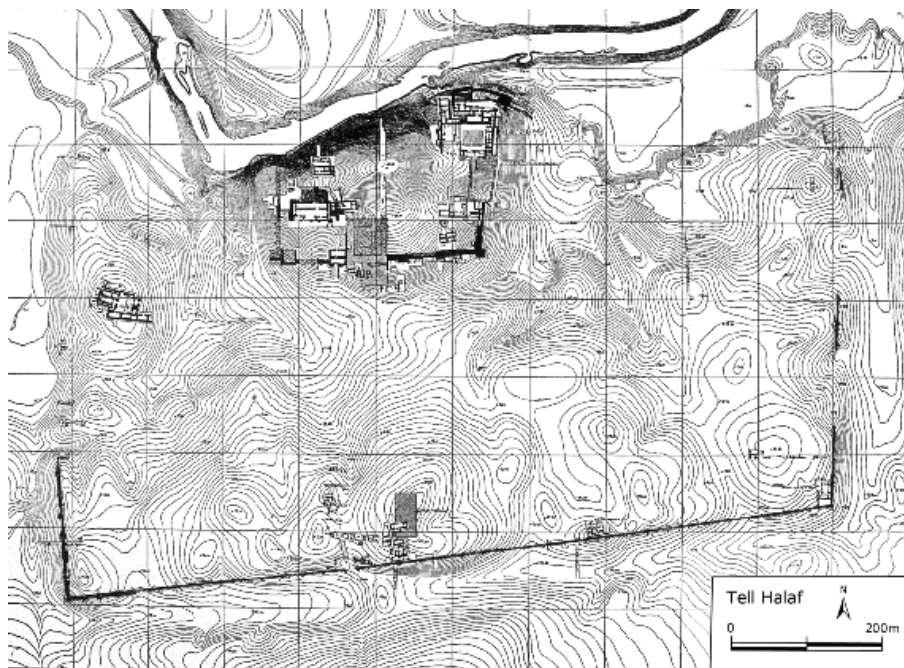
14 spekçür stele with Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (Hawkins 2000: pl. 143). Image copyright: Walter de Gruyter.



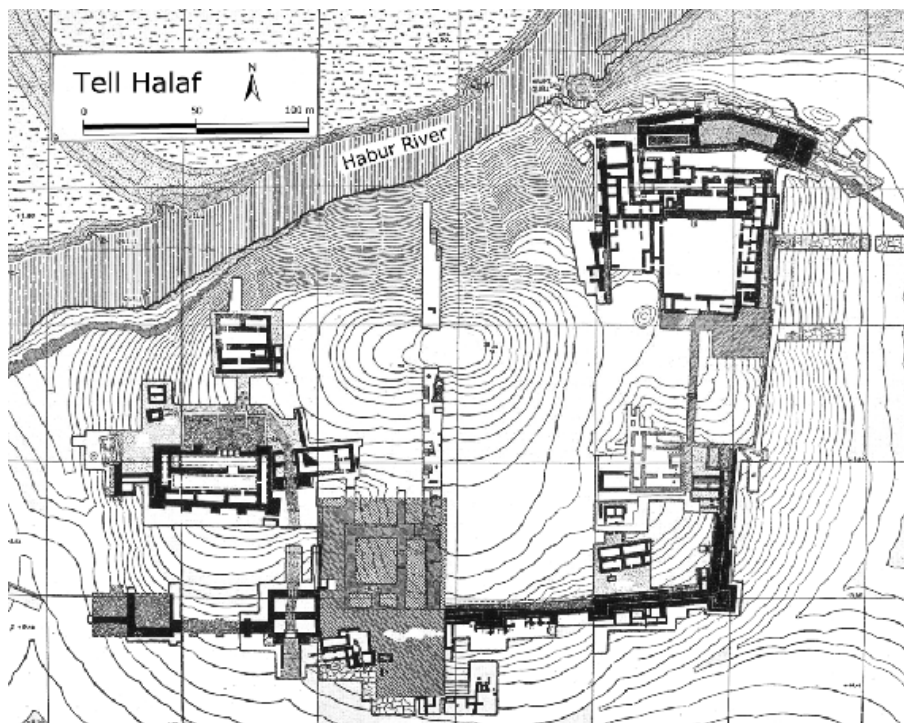
15 Darende stele with Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (Hawkins 2000: pl. 146). Image copyright: Walter de Gruyter.



16 Izgn stele with Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription. Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inventory no. 7693.



17 Tell Halaf. Topographic site plan with excavated remains.
 (Adapted from Oppenheim et al. [1950](#): Plan 1.) Image courtesy of
 Walter de Gruyter.



18 Tell Halaf. Topographic plan of the citadel with excavated remains.

(Adapted from Oppenheim et al [1950](#): Plan 1.) Image courtesy of Walter de Gruyter.

Three The Land of Aurthe making of assyrian landscapes

Introduction: Assyrian Landscapes on the Move

From the late fourteenth century BCE onward, Assyrian royal inscriptions refer to the geographical core of the Assyrian territorial state as “the Land of [the god] Aur” (KUR.[DINGIR] *aur.ki*) and the Assyrian rulers were entitled to be “the king of the Land of Aur” (LUGAL KUR.*aur.ki*).¹ This particular time period is known as the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1400–1050 BCE) and covers the last two centuries of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age without much interruption (Kuhrt 1995:348–365). The small merchant city-state of Aur of the first half of the second millennium BCE was transformed at this time to a regional state that expanded its scope beyond the Middle Tigris hinterland of the city of Aur, and eventually became one of the most expansive territorial powers in the Ancient Near East (Postgate 1992c). And, in the earlier part of the second millennium BCE, merchants of Aur seems to have established a unique commercial relationship with a network of mining, metallurgical production, and trade centers of the Anatolian highlands (Kuhrt 1998; Barjamovic 2010). Assyrian rulers held a modest but long-lasting title of “the vice-regent of the god Aur,” (*i’iak dingir.aur*), presenting themselves as a bureaucratic officials in service of the god Aur. In the course of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, we see the Assyrian rulers gradually adopt more ambitious titulary: “king of the Land of Aur.” This came with a plethora of other titles laden with symbolisms of territorial domination, such as “extender of frontiers and boundaries,” “king of Sumer and Akkad,” “king of the Upper and Lower Seas,” “king of the universe,” or “king of the four quarters.”² This process also involved the construction of the geographical notion of the “Land of Aur” as Assyria's core territories – a term that was very much in flux until at least the establishment of the Late Assyrian Empire in the ninth century BCE.

This chapter investigates the transformation of Assyrian landscapes during the late second and early first millennia BCE as part of the broader processes of settlement change in upper Mesopotamia. The

argument is that, during this stretch of time, there is an identifiable northward shift in the geopolitical definition of Assyria that corresponds to the “Land of Aur” known from the royal inscriptions. It is proposed here that this spatial shift is not only more or less contemporaneous but also in perfect symmetry with the southward shift of the “Land of Hatti” during the dissolution of the Hittite Empire. As I demonstrate in the previous chapter, the gradual southward displacement of the political center of gravity in the Hittite Empire had culminated in the association of the toponym “Land of Hatti” with north Syria during the Iron Age. In the same way, the Middle Assyrian term *KUR.aur* initially referred to an administrative region around the city Aur, while the same term of the Late Assyrian annals corresponded to the so-called Assyria proper, a roughly triangular zone between the cities Kalhu, Ninwa, Dur-arrukn, and Arbela.³ This Assyrian core of the middle Upper Tigris basin is defined by the Tigris, the Upper and Lower Zab valleys, and the foothills of the Zagros Mountains (Figure 19). While the emerging territorial state of the Assyrians was named after the city of Aur and its titular deity, the city Aur itself gradually became marginal to the newly cultivated and urbanized zone of Assyria to the north. The historical circumstances and the politico-economic motivations behind the geographical mobility in Hittite and Assyrian landscapes may in fact be quite different; however, their juxtaposition is informative for understanding the fluid and dynamic nature of political landscapes during the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition in the Near East.

The geographical space of this new Assyrian landscape was gradually constructed in material form through building projects and city foundations, settlement of populations, irrigation projects and the construction of large-scale canals, opening of new quarries, and planting of orchards. At the same time, the Land of Aur also had to be rebuilt into the Assyrian collective imagination. This was accomplished through an eventful demarcation of central and frontier landscapes through the performance of commemorative ceremonies and the raising of monuments at symbolically charged, ritualized places such as the Source of the Tigris, Nahr al Kalb, the Source of the ubnat River, The Sea of Nairi, and the like (Shafer 1998; 2007; Harmanah 2007b). These spatial configurations were accompanied by the formation of a complex world of frontiers, evident in the diversified system of Assyrian provinces and vassal states, which gradually established across upper Mesopotamia.

Cities, Landscapes, and Political Actors in a Changing World

The study of the Assyrian political and economic intervention into upper Mesopotamia has been an endeavor heavily dependent on textual sources within the framework of historical geography. In Near Eastern studies, the field of ancient geography is largely involved with reconstructing a political map of the ancient world through the identification of place and regional names on the fairly abstract cartographic space of textual accounts (e.g., Röllig 1995, Brinkman 1997, and others). It has been pointed out, however, that the record of the archaeological landscape can complement and challenge text-based accounts of ancient geographies, especially in reconstructing the patterns of human settlement (Wilkinson, Ur, Barbanes Wilkinson and Altaweel 2005: 23). Beyond this fact, an intimate engagement with the actual landscapes and cultures of settlement in those landscapes is essential for understanding the spatial aspects of ancient habitats. Therefore, notable attempts have been made to correlate archaeologically stratified texts with evidence provided by archaeological excavations, regional surveys, and environmental and landscape research to interpret the processes of settlement and urbanization in the sphere of Middle and Late Assyrian influence, especially in the Jazira.

Urbanization is understood here as a landscape process by which a region gains greater settlement complexity and density through the establishment or growth of towns and cities, accompanied by developments in agricultural and specialized industrial production, local exchange, long-distance trade and social interaction, and the restructuring of the spatial configuration of all of these. With urbanization, there is political centralization and monumentalization where wide rural territories are linked together by a political economy and the cultural ideology of the region. There is also the poetics of urban life, voiced often by the literate elites of the city – an epic notion of the city as the locus of collective power, economic prosperity, spectacles of cult practices, cultural heterogeneity, and civilized everyday life. In the context of an emergent territorial power, capital cities acquire the special status of becoming the public space of state spectacles and witness ambitious building projects of the beneficent royal patrons.

Urbanization is frequently presented to us in royal inscriptions as a deliberate program of construction based entirely on the decisions of

the political elite. As Lewis Mumford, Spiro Kostof, and other urban historians have demonstrated, however, cities are complex entities and are products of a variety of processes where economic, environmental, socio-spatial, and cultural factors play major roles in their making (Mumford 1961; Kostof 1991: 1–41). In representing cities, the historical record offers perfected images of cities as design utopias of their founders. As Henri Lefebvre has argued, urban space is a social product, a cumulative artifact of collective action, embodying competing political visions and broader regional processes (Lefebvre 1991: 30, 169–228). Therefore, the production of urban space involves the planning decisions of the political elite as well as the spatial practices of everyday life, practices that may well deconstruct or subvert those planning decisions (De Certeau 1984).

In the case of the making of Assyrian landscapes during the Late Bronze, Early Iron, and Middle Iron Ages, the historical record offers several stories of royal foundations such as Kar-Tukult-Ninurta, Kalhu, Dur-arruken, and Nnuwa, each housing increasingly ambitious programs of royal construction. When seen from a landscape perspective, however, it is possible to understand these impressive projects in relation to the longer-term trends in the evolving settlement ecologies in Upper Mesopotamia, in symmetry with the Syro-Hittite foundations (Mazzoni 1994). From the cumulative survey evidence from upper Mesopotamian archaeological landscapes, Wilkinson and his colleagues have shown that from the second half of second millennium BCE into the first half of the first millennium BCE, this region witnessed a dispersal and ruralization of settlement, extending into the steppe regions and uplands (Wilkinson, Ur, and Casana 2004: 202). Middle Assyrian and Late Assyrian attempts toward urbanizing and resettling the Jazira and the upper Tigris valley may be seen as a territorial strategy to counter this broader settlement trend away from large cities, while appropriating the idea of founding cities in their resettlement policies. In any case, I propose that a critical understanding of the long-term regional trends of settlement on the one hand, and the short-term politically motivated urban interventions on the other, is needed to present a balanced picture of this process. The proposal here is to put both rural and urban landscapes into a diachronic ecological perspective, rather than taking the Assyrian Empire of the historical record a priori and explaining the political narrative of its imperial expansion as if it was some isolated entity.

Building the Frontiers: Middle Assyrian

Foundations in the Jazira and the Upper Tigris Basin

Cumulative evidence from archaeological excavations and surveys has demonstrated confidently that the Middle Assyrian urbanization in upper Mesopotamia (ca. 1400–1050 BCE) was not a colonial superimposition of an entirely new (ex novo) settlement system on a blank geography, but it was extensively an accommodation and rehabilitation of existing networks of settlement, especially those that were formerly in the Hurrian/Mitannian cultural sphere (Barbanes 1999: 18–26; Masetti-Rouault 1998: 226). In the sixteenth to the fourteenth centuries BCE, the Jazira was at the heart of the Mitannian state and part of a cultural and economic network along with the rest of the northern Syro-Mesopotamian polities (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 346). The archaeological evidence from several excavated sites in the Assyrian core territories and the Jazira show a continuous stratigraphy of “Mitannian” and “Middle Assyrian” material assemblages for the second half of the second millennium BCE (Lyon 2000: 90).⁴ The Assyrian provincial system usually chose the traditional regional centers to be renovated and reinstated as provincial capitals. The capital cities of the provinces were considered as centers in which the administrative power of the state was concentrated and communicated with the frontier hinterlands (Postgate 1979: 216).

A good paradigm for understanding the Mitannian to Middle Assyrian institutional continuity in the Upper Mesopotamian countryside is the fortified estates of the second millennium BCE, *dimtu/dunnu*. These are the privately owned agricultural estates that were called *dimtu* in the Mitannian cultural sphere and *dunnu* in the Middle Assyrian period (Koliski 2001). These small-sized but monumental settlements developed to a great extent through the occasional redistribution of at least some of these estates to Assyrian elites as royal grants with *ilku* duties (Koliski 2001).⁵ The archaeologically well-known examples of such *dimtu* / *dunnu* settlements are Tell Fahar in the Land of Arraphe, Tell Sabi Abyad in the Upper Balih valley, and Tell Chuera (Huwra) between the Balih and Habur valleys.⁶ The cuneiform tablets that were excavated from Tell Sabi Abyad reveal that the estate was owned by Ili-ipada, who was a chief minister and viceroy of Assyria at the time of Tukult-Ninurta I (Akkermans and Wiggermann 1999). The small archive of tablets from the Middle Assyrian levels of Giricano Höyük (most probably written in 1069–1068 BCE) identify the site as Dunnu-a-Uzibi

in close proximity to Ziyaret Tepe, identified with the town Tuhu (Neo-Assyrian Tuhan), which is located on the other side of the Tigris River (Schachner 2003: 156). Some prominent members of such Assyrian elites in the Neo-Assyrian period even founded their own cities such as Dr-bl-Harrn-blu-usur (Tell Abta) (Unger 1917). Therefore, the Middle Assyrian incursion into upper Mesopotamia was an attempt to link the powerful Assyrian center to the existing networks of communication and long-distance trade, to reinstate a new territorial administration over existing patterns of settlement.

On the basis of textual evidence, the acquisition of the grain-growing region of Nnuwa-Arbela seems to have started in the middle of the fourteenth century BCE at the time of Ar-uballit I (1353–1318 BCE). In his royal inscriptions from Aur, the early thirteenth-century king Adad-nirari I (1295–1264 BCE) boasts that he had captured the Mitannian royal city of Ta'idu, probably located somewhere in the Upper Habur valley, and carried out extensive rebuilding in this city.⁷ Regardless of the question of whether or not it was actually realized, the act of refoundation and reconstruction of Ta'idu in the midst of the “Land of Hanigalbat,” appears to be the earliest significant attempt to restructure Habur landscapes by means of city-building activity and to infiltrate Assyrians into the systems of regional production and exchange. It is, however, not unlikely that, as Tell el Rimah tablets of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE show, Assyrian merchants took part in the local trade networks of Hurrian-speaking Mitannian cities prior to such large-scale Assyrian political and military interventions in the area (Postgate 2002). Assyrian mercantile engagement in Upper Mesopotamian and Anatolian markets of the metal trade from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age onward (ca. 2000 BCE) provided them with a long history of familiarity with the geographies to the north and northwest (Barjamovic 2011; Kuhrt 1995: 349).

Beginning with the reign of Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 BCE), the Upper Mesopotamian territories were reorganized with the installation of Assyrian district governors (*bl phete*) and prefects (*aknu*).⁸ *ukkalu rabi'u* (i.e., the most important state official after the Assyrian king) also carried the title *ar mt Hanigalbat*, translated as “the King of the Land of Hanigalbat.” As the Land of Aur of the middle Upper Tigris zone began to flourish with new Assyrian cities, several existing centers of the Jazira valleys underwent a phase of transformation with reconstructive efforts and, to some extent, resettlement. On the basis of the reading of an inscribed alabaster slab, excavated from the main

court of the Aur temple at Aur,⁹ Dönbaz and Frame (1983) argued that ulmnu Aard I carried on building activities in the Upper Tigris basin cities of Nnuwa (Nineveh), Arbela (Erbil), Kalhu (Nimrd), Tarbisu (Sherif Khan), Isana, and Talmu.u, as well as Kahat (Tell Barr) of the Upper Habur.¹⁰ ulmnu Aard (Shalmaneser) I was also credited with the foundation of Kalhu (Nimrd) in later texts, but his own commemorative inscriptions do not mention this accomplishment (see further discussion later in this chapter). However, ulmnu Aard's royal annals record the construction work at the Assyrian cities of Nnuwa and Arbela. At Nnuwa, not only the potent cult of Itar was revived with rebuilding of her temple and ziqqurat, but a lower town was also settled. The construction of the Assyrian core territories, therefore, was already on its way in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, long before the physical move of the royal seat to Kalhu in the early ninth century BCE at the time of A.r-nasir-apli II.

Formation of a frontier zone required a balanced politics of landscape that entailed both the maintenance and reconstruction of existing capital cities as well as the construction of new settlements on a variety of scales in the countryside. In the Upper Habur valley, the Middle Assyrian presence was confirmed by the archaeological excavations at several sites, such as Kahat (Tell Barr) (Pecorella 1990: 58), Tell Fekheriye (see earlier discussion), Tell Ajaja (adikanni) (Mahmoud and Kühne 1994), Tell Fadami (Qattun), Tell Ta'bn (Tabte) and others (Morandi Bonacossi 1996a). According to recent archaeological work at the site and the territory of Tell eh Hamad, ancient Dr Katlimmu points to notable Assyrian efforts for urbanization in the Lower Habur region during the thirteenth century BCE (Kühne 2000a). The settlement at Tell eh Hamad was a 15-hectare settlement in the Middle Bronze Age, perhaps to be associated with the Old Babylonian city of Dr Yaggit-Lim (Novák 1999:164). The (re-)foundation of Dr Katlimmu as an Assyrian provincial center must have taken place within the reign of ulmnu Aard I at the latest, based on the cuneiform archives from the site itself (Kühne 1998: 281). Located directly west of Aur and across the arid Jazira steppe land, Dr Katlimmu was the seat of a district governor (*bl phete*) and temporarily the seat of *ukallu rabi'u*, and therefore the administrative center of a large provincial territory (Kühne 2000a: 271; Kühne 2010). This city acquired a fundamentally important role in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE for the Assyrian provincial system,¹¹ while the urban center of Dr Katlimmu developed to a massive size of 110 ha, with two well-planned “lower towns” and suburban areas, and a massive irrigation project along the Habur.¹² The foundation of Dr-A.r-kett-leer at the site of Tell Bdri in the Upper Habur basin by the

local ruler named Aur-kett-leer suggests that the intensified city building practice in the Habur basin was not limited to the initiation of the imperial family. In his foundation inscriptions, Aur-kett-leer referred to himself as the King of the Land of Mari and he was a contemporary of Tukult-apil-Earra I (1114–1076 BCE).¹³

The Balih valley constituted an equally important western frontier zone for the Middle Assyrians.¹⁴ Archaeological excavations show a peaceful abandonment of certain large sites such as Tell Hammam et Turkman at the very end of the fourteenth century BCE (Akkermans and Rossmeisl 1990: 31–32). The fourteenth–thirteenth-century transition in the Balih valley suggests an identifiable reduction of settlement intensity, especially a reduction in aggregate site area and shifts in the location of settlements by means of settlement foundations in relatively small scale (e.g., Tell Sabi Abyad), to be explained perhaps by the overall economic decline of the Mitannian sphere on the one hand and the gradual reorganization of the frontier territories by the Assyrians on the other. The long-term settlement trends in Upper Mesopotamia from large tell settlements of the early second millennium BCE (e.g., Tell Hammam et Turkman) toward the dispersed and rural pattern in the Early Iron Age should be accounted for, as the Mitannian/Middle Assyrian periods were bearing the major pivotal role in this landscape transformation. The switch from urban to rural seems to have been most dramatic in the Mitanni to Middle and Late Assyrian transition (Lyon 2000: 102).

Recent survey work and salvage excavations on the Upper Tigris River Basin in southeastern Turkey show that a series of fortified settlements delineated the Anatolian frontier of the Assyrian empire, where the countryside was found populated with agricultural settlements in the Early Iron Age (Figure 20).¹⁵ This extensive region, which is rich in metal resources, includes the Tigris, Batman, Garzan, Bitlis, and Bohtan river valleys and especially the areas under intensive archaeological prospection because of construction of the Il su Dam. In the late second and early first millennia BCE, the region was a geopolitically crucial frontier zone between the Assyrian, Ubaria and Urartu, as well as the Syro-Hittite states to the west. In 882 BCE, Ar-nasir-apli II refounded the city of Tuhan as one of the provincial centers within the region. This city is now identified with the currently excavated Ziyarettepe in the Diyarbakr province in Turkey, located on the southern bank of the Tigris River at an important river crossing, where the river opens up into a wide open plain.¹⁶ This urban foundation and the related construction activity were recorded

on a number of his royal inscriptions, especially on the orthostats of the Ninurta Temple at Kalhu,¹⁷ and the so-called Nimrd Monolith (a large-scale commemorative stele from Ninurta Temple).¹⁸ In those inscriptions, Ar-nasir-apli claims that he had “brought back the enfeebled Assyrians who, because of hunger and famine, had gone up to the other lands” and he had resettled them. On the so-called Kurkh Monolith (a stele discovered near Diyarbakr in 1861 at a site called Kurkh, whereabouts of which is debated); he also mentions that Tdu and Sinbu, towns along the Upper Tigris near Tuhan, had already been garrisoned by ulmnu Aard (I).¹⁹ The Middle Assyrian material presence in the Upper Tigris region has been documented by archaeological excavations at the sites like Ziyarettepe (Tuhan) (Matney and Bauer 2000: 120–121), Üçtepe (Tdu) (Körolu 2002), and Grê Dimsê (Karg 2001); and the surveys in the region (e.g., Parker 2001b). Radner and Schachner (2001: 763–766) suggest that this frontier zone was already urbanized at the time of Adad-nrri I and ulmnu Aard I, when the river Tigris formed a natural boundary between Assyria and the independent kingdom of ubria to the north. The three cities of Tuhan, Tdu, and Sinbu formed strongholds that controlled this Assyrian borderland zone.

On the basis of the survey evidence from the region, Bradley Parker (2001a) suggested that in the Iron Age, Assyrians brought in a new system of agricultural settlement into an albeit limited area in the Upper Tigris basin around the flood plain, where they systematically populated the countryside with agricultural villages.²⁰ It may be too audacious to call this process “agricultural colonization,” which implies settlement of deported communities into the region, because it is equally possible to interpret this survey evidence as an indigenous response to urbanization on the river basin.²¹ Still, it is evident that the landscapes of the Upper Tigris frontier zone were transformed through a process of urbanization on various scales of settlement, involving both the urban and the rural environments. During the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE, Assyrian kings built the foundations of the Land of Aur in the Kalhu-Nnuwa-Arbela region while investing labor in major urban centers such as Nnuwa. It is also clear, however, that they were equally keen on constructing the frontiers of their empire while rebuilding former Mitannian urban centers and settling their hinterlands.

In the spring of 1967, a stele of the Late Assyrian king Adad-Nirari III (810–781 BCE) and Nergal-Ere (the governor of Rasappa) was found at Tell el-Rimah (ancient Zamahu), in the cult room of a shrine (Page

1968). The twenty-one-line cuneiform text celebrates Adad Nirari's taking tribute from the king of Aram in Damascus, although nine of the lines were erased in antiquity. The inscription lists 331 settlements that were founded and built by Nergal-Ere in an extensive program of resettlement. In the inscription are certain newly founded town names (such as Dr-Inanna, Kr-Sîn, Dr-Aur, Dr-Nergal-Ere, Dr-Marduk, Dr-Adad-Nirari, and the like), typical names for ex novo foundations. Each town is then connected with varying numbers of villages, ranging from 12 to 126 (Page 1968: 143; Kühne 2010: 120). Combined with the survey evidence, the textual accounts from commemorative monuments confirm that the settlement landscape in the Iron Age in upper Mesopotamia was heavily shaped by settlement foundations in the countryside or the resettlement of previously abandoned landscapes. In the Early Iron Age, we see this as a collective response of Syro-Mesopotamian communities to the decline and eventual collapse of urban economies at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In the ninth and eighth centuries BCE in Assyria, we see the Assyrian state's appropriation of this settlement trend as a policy of territorial organization, labor investment, and political control.

Beyond Aur: The Making of Assyria in a New Landscape

Throughout the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1400–1050 BCE) during which Assyria was transformed into a territorial state, Assyrians continuously searched for alternatives to Aur. The city and its arid Middle Tigris steppe hinterland lies well outside the margins of the reliable rainfall zone, and could not support a growing population with its limited agricultural hinterland in the Mhmr valley (Kühne 2000a: 272; Novák 2005: 178). Using modern ethnographic evidence, Oates (1968: 20) argued that Aur was “not an obvious capital for the fertile land of the rainfall zone,” but instead it had “positive attractions” for pastoral nomads of the area that had their headquarters at this strategic location. Assyrians, however, were attracted to the well-watered, arable lands of the Upper Tigris and Habur basins, especially the region around Nnuwa, not only for agricultural reasons but also because of their proximity to the metal and timber resources of the North. The area around Nnuwa was equally rich with stone quarries and offered substantial amounts of a variety of building stones. The decline of the Mitannian state after the mid-fourteenth century BCE, which succumbed to the pressures of the Hittite kings, especially and most effectively that of uppiuliuma I, allowed the Assyrians to advance and take hold of these territories,

and cultivate its landscapes with cities, monuments, roads, and irrigation canals, and resettle populations in them (Kuhrt 1995: 295–296; Gernot 1989: 34–41).

The city of Aur, today known as Qalat Sherqat, is a 65-hectare site located in the Middle Tigris valley, and has a long urban history that reaches back to its extensive monumentalization in the early second millennium BCE, especially under the aegis of Amī-Adad I (1813–1781 BCE) and then later under the Middle Assyrian kings of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE (Feldman 2006b; Oates 1968: 19–41) (see Figure 21). As the urban seat of the god Aur, the city remained the ceremonial and religious center throughout the history of the Middle Assyrian and Late Assyrian states. In the Assyrian royal inscriptions, the city was sometimes simply referred to as *ba”t ili*; that is, “desired object of the gods” (see, for example, Grayson 1987: 273, text A.0.78.23, line 89). The tutelary deity Aur was elevated to the top of the Assyrian state pantheon and acted as the main driving force in the Assyrian imperial ideology.²² It is significant that the early cult of Aur at Aur is referred to in the scholarly literature as a *numen loci* rather than a *deus persona*: it is understood as the mythopoetic personification of the city itself, rather than being a deep-rooted member of the Mesopotamian pantheon (Lambert 1983). Nevertheless, as the cult of Aur was gradually incorporated into the spectacles of the Assyrian state and Assyrian territorial core was fashioned as the *Land of Aur*, Aur remained vividly present in the mental geography of the Assyrian territorial state. “Weapons of Aur” (*GI.kakki Aur*) were ceremonially “washed” at symbolically charged places (such as the Mediterranean coast, the Sea of Nairi, the source of the Tigris, and the like) during the campaigns of later Assyrian kings. These acts are regularly coupled with other commemorative acts, such as ceremonial banquets, the setting-up of royal monuments, the carving of rock inscriptions, or the making of *salmu* images (cf. Yamada 2000: 273–299) (see the following discussion). The story of Aur in the second millennium BCE involves a continuous delocalization of the cult and its sacred realm, and its physical redistribution to the frontiers of the empire as an agent of colonization and sanctification of landscapes at the same time.

When the *Land of Aur* physically shifted northward to the Upper Tigris basin, away from Aur, during the Neo-Assyrian period, the city acquired the status of being a place of antiquity, a place of historical value to the Late Assyrian kings, who benevolently continued to renovate and rebuild its archaic sanctuaries. This historicizing

transformation in the cultural status of the city Aur became most evident by the time of Ar-nasir-apli II, who rebuilt the Old (Middle Assyrian) Palace on the Qal'at Sherqat citadel and transformed the southeastern sector of the palace into a mausoleum with vaulted burial chambers in which Assyrian kings were buried in monolithic basalt sarcophagi.²³ Al-Khalesi (1977: 80–81) suggested that the entire southeastern sector of the palace must have housed a *bit kispim*, the ceremonial funerary complex dedicated to the ancestor cult and the rites of *kispum*. In his inscriptions, Sennacherib referred to the Old Palace at Aur as “*ekal tapuhti ubat drat*,” translated as “a palace of repose, the everlasting dwelling.”²⁴ Esarhaddon presents an even more eloquent account of the historicity of Aur by painstakingly tracing the genealogy of its cult buildings back to Erium I (Leichty 2011: 119–129, Aur Prism Text 57, iii 16–41).

By the thirteenth century BCE, the urban landscape of Aur was already heavily built with the constructions of several episodes of cumulative building.²⁵ The site is raised some 40 m above the alluvial plain on a triangular eminence at the junction of two branches of the narrow Tigris valley. Even though the city was well protected, the elevated Old City (referred in the Assyrian texts as URU.*libbi li* “the Heart of the City”) and its residential extension “New City” to the southeast (URU.*GIBIL*), could not grow because of its topographic limitations.²⁶ The supply of water for the upper citadel must have presented yet another problem, making further building projects impractical. When Tukult-Ninurta I (1243–1207 BCE) ordered his craftsmen to build a new palace on the citadel (to be called *é.lugal.umun.kur.kur.ra*, “The Royal Residence of the Lord of All the Lands”), they had to construct a massive terrace, covering an area of approximately 29,000 square meters to be used as a foundation platform.²⁷ The “New Palace” was built on the northwest promontory of the citadel overlooking the river. Unfortunately, because of later building activity in this area of the city, there is very little evidence for the superstructure of this palace (Andrae 1977 [1938] 162–164; and Heinrich 1984: 95–96 and especially Abb. 50). However, Tukult-Ninurta's departure from the site of the Old Palace must have been a drastic change to Aur's urban landscape, given the fact that the Old Palace had been used by the Assyrian kings for many generations and had recently been restored by his predecessors Adad-Nirari I and ulmu Aard I. During Tukult-Ninurta's reign, other building activities were also carried out in Aur, including the construction of a new temple to Itar Aurtu on a much more monumental scale and the construction of a deep moat around the fortifications (Lackenbacher 1982: 25). By the thirteenth century BCE, Aur's limited urban

landscape was too small for the ambitious projects of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age rulers of Assyria (Stronach 1997b: 309).

Not satisfied with his large-scale building projects at Aur, and perhaps following his successful military expedition to Babylonia, Tukult-Ninurta I initiated the construction of his new capital city Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, 3 km upstream from Aur and on the opposite (East) bank of the Tigris river at the modern mound of Tulul ul ‘Aqar (Figures 22–24) (Gilibert 2008; Deller, Fadhil and Ahmad 1994). This orthogonally planned royal foundation is considered the first physical departure of the administrative apparatus of the state from Aur, replacing it with an entirely new city endowed with palaces, temples, other public structures and residential neighborhoods and delimited by fortifications. This massive settlement (more than 250 ha) was investigated archaeologically first on a limited scale by Walter Andrae and W. Bachmann in 1913–1914 and then more comprehensively under the direction of Reinhard Dittmann by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft project since 1986.²⁸ Tukult-Ninurta's decision to shift his royal seat from Aur onto a new capital city was most possibly influenced by the environmental difficulties that the site of Aur presented. Additionally, Aur and Kr-Tukult-Ninurta form an interesting paradigm for the short-distance transfer of a regional capital in the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age transition, comparable to the shift from Tell Fekheriye to Tell Halaf, or from Tell Atchana to Tell Ta'yinat, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The foundation of the city was apparently part of a large scale irrigation program, which involved the construction of an irrigation canal named *Pattu-mari* (“Canal of Justice”) and the transformation of the plains to the East of the Tigris River where the new city was built into irrigated fields. Walter Bachmann's sketch map of the Mhmr plain (Dittmann 1995: Abb 1–2.), which mostly covers Kr-Tukult-Ninurta's immediate hinterland, shows the remains of two canals – one running along the Tigris from the North and the other diverted from Lower Zab – although the dating of the canals are not certain (Bagg 2000b: 311; Dittmann 1995). Nevertheless, monumental canals do constitute a major component within Kr-Tukult-Ninurta's urban landscape in the Middle Assyrian Period. Following Kr-Tukult-Ninurta's foundation on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the Assyrians continued to urbanize the region east of the Tigris river during the Neo-Assyrian period with an increasing tendency to utilize the tributary valleys of the river, such as the Lower and Upper Zab and the better irrigated terrains with rich

soils between them (Wilkinson 2003: figure 7.1). On the contrary, to the west of Aur is the limestone terrain that offered little agricultural potential. Bachmann's survey map of the Mhmr plain illustrates the intensity of the settlement between the Tigris River, the Lower Zab, and the Jebel Qarahuq, especially for the Assyrian and later periods. It may be reasonable to argue that Tukult-Ninurta's decision for the location of his new city may have been a response to the already flourishing of settlement in the Mahmr plain in the late second millennium BCE. However, this hypothesis would have to be tested with an intensive archaeological survey in the region.

Considering the timing of the project in the chronological context of Tukult-Ninurta's southern campaigns, Julian Reade suggested that the king may have been inspired by the foundation of Dr-Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf) sometime in the early or mid-fourteenth century BCE by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I (?-1375 BCE).²⁹ Tukult-Ninurta must have been equally aware of the Egyptian foundation of Akhetaten (Tell el Amarna) of Amenophis IV in Egypt (c. 1365 BCE), Dur-Unta (modern Choga Zanbil) by the Elamite king Unta-DINGIR.GAL around mid-thirteenth century BCE (Malbran-Rabat 2002), and Tarhuntaa of Muwatalli II in Southern Anatolia (early thirteenth century BCE). Tukult-Ninurta was indeed participating in the Late Bronze Age imperial practice of building capital cities which was shared by all imperial polities of the Near East, including the Hittites, Egyptians, Kassites, and Elamites (cf. Feldman 2006a).

On an ideological level, the construction project of Kr-Tukult-Ninurta was introduced as Tukult-Ninurta's commemorative gesture following his victory over Babylonia, as a state spectacle that derived from the economic and cultural prosperity that the campaign had brought back to Assyria (Deller, Fadhil and Ahmad 1994; Grayson 1987: text A.O.78.22–25). Based on archaeological and textual evidence, however, Alessandra Gilibert demonstrated that Tukult-Ninurta's building project was already under way during the early years of his reign, and the narrative discourse presented in his annals connecting the Babylonian victory with the building project seems to be largely a political construct, “some sort of ideological coronation” of the military campaign (Gilibert 2008: 179). A comparable product of such commemoration is the “Tukult-Ninurta Epic,” a 750-line literary narrative that celebrates the king's victory over the Kassite king Katilia IV (Machinist 1976: 457). The epic itself illustrates the flourishing literary production in Assyria under the influence of the Babylonian scholars who were later brought to Assyria (Kuhrt 1995:

356–357). It is during this Assyrian literary renaissance that the god Aur was elevated to a state cult through his promotion over Babylonian Marduk, and a version of the Babylonian *aktu* (“new year’s”) festival was instituted at Aur to be celebrated around the cult of Aur.³⁰ This is particularly significant, given the politically charged and triumphal nature of the *aktu* festival in the Late Assyrian context (Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 1997a). While the “imperium” was symbolically transferred from Babylonia to the Land of Aur, the city of Kr-Tukult-Ninurta was to become the new seat for that imperial power, and it was to become the great ceremonial center for all lands with its multiple cult complexes.

The next spectacular move to relocate the political center of Assyria and to redefine the Land of Aur came at the time of Ar-nasir-apli II in the first half of the ninth century BCE, after what is considered a long period of economic and political recession and marked with the silence of the historical record. Noteworthy exceptions to this “decline” are the reigns of Tukult-apil-Earra I (1114–1076 BCE) and Ar-bl-kala (1073–1056 BCE) of the Early Iron Age in Assyria. The wealth of inscriptions from the time of these two kings itself shows that the decline or “dark age” that is associated with the earlier part of the Early Iron Age in Assyria (twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE) and based on the absence of royal inscriptions (see, for example, Van De Mieroop 2004: 189) is only superficial and should be treated cautiously. Archaeological and survey evidence from Assyrian core areas and the Jazira do not show any hiatus or decline (Kühne 1995b). Tukult-apil-Earra I’s annals tell us about his building projects at Nnuwa and Aur. His commemorative monuments in frontier landscapes established the foundations of the Assyrian practice of carving rock monuments and raising stelae.

Founding Kalhu

Ar-nsir-apli II’s reign (883–859 BCE) marks an important period for the study of Assyrian history. A massive increase in the amount of royal inscriptions and other literary sources attests this, but we also identify this “quantum leap” in the archaeological evidence in the form of large-scale building projects, which introduced innovative architectural technologies and a new artisanal vocabulary on an unprecedented scale (but see discussion in Chapter 5).³¹ Prior to his initiation of the project at Kalhu, Ar-nsir-apli II was engaged in sponsoring architectural and urban renovation projects at Aur and Nnuwa. He is credited for architectural work on the imperial palace and

the Sin and ama temples at Aur, and the Temple of Itar at Nnuwa (Russell 1999a: 222).

During the fifth year of his reign in 879 BCE, Ar-nasir-apli initiated the construction of a new capital city at the modern site of Tell Nimrd, ancient Kalhu, 65 km upstream from Aur (Oates and Oates 2001). The administrative-political center of the empire was finally moved from the Middle Tigris region to the fertile, undulating agricultural land near the confluence of the Tigris and the Upper Zab. Various aspects of city planning and architectural technologies employed in the construction of Kalhu are discussed in further detail in the next two chapters. However, a few remarks on the regional impact of Ar-nasir-apli's building activities as a landscape project need to be made here.

By the beginning of the ninth century BCE, Kalhu was already an important urban center that had flourished around the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Ar-nsir-apli II's annals attribute the original foundation of the city to the Middle Assyrian king ulmnu-aard, usually identified with Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 BCE), whose known inscriptions seem to be silent about this accomplishment (see e.g., Grayson 1991: 222–223; text A.O.101.1. column iii.132–136). The basis of Ar-nsir-apli II's attribution was possibly the foundation tablets or architectural inscriptions of ulmnu Aard I that his workmen had located during the construction. Julian Reade recently pointed out that an unpublished large terracotta tablet in the British Museum that was reported to have come from the middle of Nimrd mound names Shalmaneser I (Reade 2002b: 138). In any case, Kalhu is known to have been an urban center in the Middle Assyrian period, as its name is attested in the textual sources of thirteenth century BCE (Postgate and Reade 1980: 320). Moreover, Kalhu appears as a provincial capital in a text that gives a gazetteer of provinces at the time of Tukult-apil-Earra I (Postgate 1985: 96).

Limited archaeological evidence for the Middle Assyrian settlement at Tell Nimrd came from a residential area during the 1950 citadel excavations. When Max Mallowan's team excavated a small but deep trench below the “1950 building,” they identified Middle Assyrian strata from a series of faïence rosettes, a single seal impression and second millennium BCE pottery.³² It is not clear, however, how much of the 360-hectare lower town of the later Neo-Assyrian city was

already settled in the Middle Assyrian period.

The displacement of the Assyrian administrative center from Aur to Kalhu clearly marks a decided challenge to the definition of the “the Land of Aur” (Figure 19). This was possibly a conscientious response to the intensification of cultivation in the Upper Tigris-Upper Zab floodplain, the agriculturally rich dry-farming landscape which was already opened to intensive settlement in the Middle Assyrian period (Kühne 1995b: 69–72). If one considers the growing economic interests of Assyrians toward the upper Syro-Mesopotamian states rather than the south during the Iron Age, a core area closer to the Upper Tigris basin must have geographically made more sense. I would argue that this is first and foremost an economical decision for more direct participation in the trade and exchange network, access to metal resources and mining installations to the north, and collection of tax and tribute in the provinces. However, it is also a strategically meaningful move, especially for military purposes. The Assyrian kings launched their military campaigns to the west, usually from Nnuwa or Kalhu, and easily approached the Upper Habur by following the Tigris River upstream.³³ The existence of abundant quarries of good building stone (limestone and gypsum) in the Upper Tigris-Upper Zab basin must have made this region even more attractive for the large-scale building projects of the Assyrian rulers. The north Syrian, Levantine, and Hittite use of cut stone blocks and orthostats for temples, palaces, and city gates as a prestigious architectural technology of the early and late second millennium BCE must have attracted the attention of Assyrian elites and craftsmen; and moving into a region with excellent stone resources gave them access to this shared architectural network.

Ar-nsir-apli II commemorates his (re-)foundation of Kalhu, his *mhzi bltiya*, “the [cult] center/capital city of [his] lordship” in several of his monumental inscriptions, including those on the orthostats and the “Nimrd Monolith” from the Ninurta temple and the “Standard Inscription” from the Northwest Palace, among others (Mallowan 1966 I: 68). According to these inscriptions, this colossal project involved the construction of the city (fortification walls, temples, and palace); settlement of deportees from the Zagros, the Middle Euphrates, and North Syria regions in it; the construction of the *Patti-Hegalli* canal from the Upper Zab; and plantation of orchards in the vicinity (see, for example, Grayson 1991: 222–223: text A.0.101.1: iii 132–136). Recent research, however, has shown that major irrigation projects were carried out by Assyrian rulers between the fourteenth century BCE onward, and well into the seventh century BCE, usually in

the context of the foundation of new cities. Bagg (2000a, 2000b) has shown that these irrigation projects can no longer be associated simply with supplying water for Assyrian palace gardens, but they were indeed intended to transform sizeable desolate landscapes into irrigated fields (also Kühne 1990c). The function of these irrigation networks must have varied from the large-scale enhancement of dry-farming systems along valley basins to the sustaining belts of fruit orchards and vegetable gardens in the immediate environs of the new cities (Wilkinson 2003a: 92–99; Wilkinson et al. 2005: 27–32). The image of a flourishing landscape in the middle of a hitherto uncultivated steppeland must have been closely associated with the abundance of water and greenery to evoke economic prosperity. The irrigation canals were technologically complex projects that constituted highly labor-intensive building activity, including rock-cut channels, aqueducts, and water-level regulators.³⁴ Ar-nasir-apli's monumental irrigation canal, *Patti-Hegalli*, (i.e., “The Canal of Abundance”) that was built by his craftsmen was identified archaeologically on the surface and traced along Upper Zab, starting some 14 km directly east of Kalhu and running along the Zab River in the southwest direction (Figure 25).³⁵ At one point, the canal passes through a rock-cut tunnel, known as the Negb tunnel, to the west of the village Quwair (Davey 1985).³⁶ The tunnel cuts through a conglomerate bluff on the North bank of the Zab and it functioned as a regulator of the water flow by means of sluice gates.

In conclusion, Aur-nasir-apli II's reign marks a crucial threshold in the history of the Assyrian empire toward the articulation of a politics of landscape that ventured on constructing the *Land of Aur* on the one hand and continuously reconfigured the frontiers of the empire on the other. The infrastructure for this development was laid out between the fourteenth and tenth centuries BCE during the Middle Assyrian period. The territorial strategies of settlement involved the construction and reconstruction of capital cities and provincial centers, implementation of large-scale irrigation and land cultivation programs, and deportation and resettlement of populations. Building activity of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE further altered the Assyrian core landscapes, most notably with Sargon II's foundation of Dr-arrukn and Sennacherib's massive program in the region and city of Nnuwa. These colossal projects, which were reported in the ideological narratives of the imperial state apparatus, masked the long-term landscape processes and the *real* dynamics of spatial production (as discussed previously) through the articulation of a highly elaborate royal rhetoric. This royal rhetoric is perhaps best illustrated by the Assyrian accounts and practices of raising

commemorative monuments in foreign landscapes. Such accounts are especially comparable to the accounts of the construction of cities, in the sense that they both present a distinctive representational practice of taking over territories, marking landscapes and sustaining this take-over by means of commemorative activities. In the following section, I draw the analogy between the idea of carving the living rock/raising monuments and colonizing/cultivating landscapes as two forms of inscription of places and appropriation of colonial geographies.

Assyrian Rock Reliefs, Landscape Commemoration, and the Inscription of Place

In a fascinating text, reconstructed from a series of cone and stone inscriptions from Aur, the Early Iron Age Assyrian king Tukult-apil-Earra I (1114–1076 BCE) describes the construction of *bt ahru* and *bt labbnu* of a cultic complex in his royal city. In this long annalistic text, he gives many architectural details about the buildings, and links the architectonics of the structures to his military and hunting successes in the frontier landscapes.

67–71. A *nahiru*, which means a sea-horse, with a *pariangu* (harpoon?) of my own making, which by the command of the gods Ninurta and Nergal, great gods, my lords, in the [Great] Sea [of the land of A]murru, I killed; and a live *burhi*, which was transported from the land of Luma,...the other side of the land Habhu. I made their representations in basalt. I stationed them on the right and left [at my ro]yal [entrance].

(Grayson 1991: 38–45, text A.0.87.4, lines 67–71)

The king's hunting spectacle of the *nahiru* and the *burhi* by the Mediterranean is commemorated by the carving of the representations of these fabulous creatures and their incorporation into the architectonic and sculptural corpus of the cult complex in Aur. In this way, the conquered landscapes are transported to the center of the empire. He is also known to have boasted about bringing back seedlings of rare and exotic trees (“cedar, box-tree [and] Kanish oak”) and planting them in orchards at home (Radner 2000: 239). Likewise, during his military expeditions, Tukult-apil-Earra is known to have carried out several commemorative ceremonies, such as the “washing

of the weapons of Aur” at the Sea of the Setting-Sun, the raising of an “inscribed bronze lightning bolt” (NIM.GR ZABAR) at a ruined mound, and the felling of trees at the Cedar Mountain or carving of rock reliefs at the Source of the Tigris River (Birkleyn caves in southeastern Turkey) (Harmanah 2007b), at Yoncal/Malazgirt near the source of Murat Suyu/Euphrates north of Lake Van (Sagona and Sagona 2004: 34), and at Mount Lebanon (Yamada 2000: 274, n. 5). This is precisely what I would like to call “landscape commemoration” in the context of Assyrian expeditions to frontier landscapes, where a symbolically, geopolitically or ritually significant place is appropriated, marked, or inscribed through a spectacle of the state. These Assyrian monuments of landscape commemoration help us understand the link between the foundation of cities in the Iron Age and the royal rhetoric of cultivating “empty” or “barren” landscapes or the take-over of territories “where the rock was untouched.” Through the act of carving the living rock, commemorative inscriptions and reliefs attempt to claim places as previously untouched, unmarked surfaces, and to leave a mark that would then last for many generations, if not for eternity. In this way, rock reliefs and stone monuments attempt to capture the temporal power and longevity of geological time, associating themselves with the “nature’s processes” rather than cultural phenomena.

In their annals, the Late Assyrian kings refer to such monuments as *narû*, usually translated as “stela or inscribed monument.”³⁷ *Narû* monuments could either be freestanding stone stelae or reliefs carved into the bedrock. The pictorial component in such monuments were talked about as *salam arrutiya* (“the image of (my) kingship”) or *salam bunnannîya* (“the image of (my) physique”).³⁸ Writing on the Assyrian concept of the *salmu*, Zainab Bahrani argued that the image of the king appears as a “culturally mediated, conventionally coded” representation of kingship, an idealized one rather than an approximation of naturalistic likeness of the particular king’s body (Bahrani 2003: 123). They exhibit a form of pictorial representation that not only visually communicated a complex royal rhetoric but also indexically transported the body of the king in foreign landscapes.

Beside the images of kingship, the commemorative inscriptions narrate the particular political context and the historical circumstances for the making of the monument, although they are often brief and formulaic. One can think of the making of the *narû* monuments as introspective moments during military expeditions, when the king, his scribes, and craftsmen had to improvise a locally

specific narrative for the very occasion and place. One important inscription that must have been produced in the course of a campaign of Aur-nasir-apli II is known from the stele known as the “Kurkh Monolith.”³⁹ It was discovered in 1861 by J.E. Taylor on the northwest side of the ancient mound of Kurkh, immediately south of Diyarbakr (Grayson 1991: 256–262, text A.0.101.18; Shafer 1998: 148–151). In his brief commentary to the publication of the text, Grayson notes that “the scribe who engraved the text on the stele made several errors, some of which he attempted to correct. This suggests...that he was working hastily under a deadline” (Grayson 1991: 257).

During the Early Iron Age and significantly followed by the reigns of Aur-nasir-apli II and ulmnu Aard III in the ninth century BCE, *narû* monuments appear largely in peripheral contexts, in urban spaces as well as in extra-urban landscapes (Shafer 1998; 2007). As it is known from both archaeological evidence and textual references, the sites of these monuments are frequently strategic locations, such as mountain passes and stone quarries, or symbolically charged places, such as springs, sources of rivers, or along river gorges. They are also raised at the newly renovated or newly founded urban centers in the frontier regions, where the ideological presence of the Assyrian kingship had to be maintained and communicated with the local societies. In the orthostat inscriptions of the Ninurta temple at Kalhu, Aur-nasir-apli II claims to have raised a *narû* monument at a location that is powerful and meaningful in many ways:

At that time I made an image of my physique (*salam bunnannîya*)
(and) wrote thereon the praises of my power (*tanatti kitîya*). I
erected (it) on the *Eq*. Mountain in the city called URU.Aur-nasir-
apli at the source of the spring (*r. ni*).

(Grayson 1991: 198; text A.0.101.1, col. i, lines 68–69)

Although the precise geographical location of the *Eq*. Mountain is unknown, it is significant that Aur-nasir-apli erected his commemorative monument at the source of a spring, where he had founded (or refounded) a new city and named it after himself (i.e., the City of Aur-nasir-apli).⁴⁰ The two commemorative acts literally coincide here: the foundation of a new city and the raising of the *narû* monument at a symbolically charged mythopoetical landscape. It is

precisely this conceptual overlap that I would like to draw on here: the foundation of cities as commemorative events similar to the establishment of *narû* monuments.

It is equally remarkable that the making of *narû* monuments in the course of the expeditions were represented on narrative relief programs on major Assyrian monuments, just as they were expressed in the annalistic texts. In these pictorial and textual narratives, the commemorative building activity (here, raising of the *narû*) appears as a culminating ceremonial event in the course of royal expeditions, marking an emotionally heightened moment of state spectacle. Washing of the weapons of Aur (*kakk Aur*) is another type of commemorative activity, and it had a similar function in the geographical narratives (Yamada 2000: 297–299). These symbolically charged commemorative acts further demarcate the conquered landscape by creating sites of continued cult activity. A notable example for the visual representation of the raising of commemorative monuments during military expeditions comes from the bronze strips from the site of Tell Balawat.

Tell Balawat, ancient Imgur-Enlil, is a medium-sized and orthogonally planned settlement of 52 ha, located about 15 km northeast of Kalhu and 27 km southeast of Nnuwa (Figure 25). The 1989 intensive surface survey at the site by David Tucker provided evidence to suggest that the site was occupied during the Chalcolithic period (Late Ubaid and Uruk) and was resettled in the Middle Assyrian period (Tucker 1994: 109). Earlier archaeological work at the site had uncovered portions of a palace complex and temple dedicated to Mamu, a deity associated with dreams and dream oracles (Curtis 2008). Several foundation inscriptions from the site suggest that the town was rebuilt at the time of Aṛ-nasir-apli II:

This city I took in hand for newness. I called it Imgur-Enlil. I founded this temple in the environs of my palace. I placed inside a statue of the god Mamu, my lord. I marched to Mount Lebanon (and) cut down beams of cedar, cypress, (and) *dapranu*-juniper. I made fast the cedar beams over this temple (and) constructed cedar doors. I fastened (them) with bronze bands (and) hung (them) in its doorways. I decorated this temple in a splendid fashion (and) placed therein the god Mamu, the great lord. I inscribed my monumental inscriptions (NA4 NA.RÚ.A) (and) deposited (them) in his temple.⁴¹

These bronze bands that Aurnasirpal boasts about were excavated at the citadel of Balawat, and were recently published by the British Museum (Barnett et al. 2008). These extraordinary sets of bronze bands or strips carved in embossing and chasing techniques were excavated in several episodes of archaeological work, first by the legendary Hormuzd Rassam in 1878 on behalf of the British Museum and then during the 1956–1957 expedition carried out by Max Mallowan on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Whereas the earlier and more fragmentary set dates to the time of Aurnasir-apli, the other and more completely preserved set is dated to Aurnasirpal's son Shalmaneser III (Schachner 2007).

The set of bronze strips that are ascribed to the latter king comprises sixteen finely preserved bands, decorated in *repoussé* technique, with pictorial narratives of Shalmaneser's first thirteen expeditions to various lands (Figure 26). Each band has two horizontal registers of pictorial imagery, which are occasionally captioned with brief epigraphic inscriptions that identified the scenes. The overall layout of the narratives on the gates are arranged geographically rather than chronologically, as argued by Michelle Marcus (1987 and 1995a), suggesting that the entire visual program acted as a narrativized map of the king's travels across the empire's frontiers. Several episodes of commemorative events interrupt the narratives of war on the panels, and these include the scenes of construction of rock monuments and setting up stelae and various other cultic paraphernalia as well as processions and sacrificial rituals. A fascinating event is depicted on Relief Panel L6 where the Assyrian army arrives ceremonially at the caves of the “Source of the Tigris” where sacrifices were made to the gods and two *salmu* images were carved on the bedrock at the mouth of the two caves (Figures 27–28) (Harmanah 2007b). Similarly, in Relief Panel R7, sacrifices and offerings are made to the “Sea of Nairi” (probably Lake Urmia), and a stele of the king is erected on an outcrop by the water. ulmnu Aard's annalistic texts that refer to this event also mention washing of the weapons of Aur (Yamada 2000: 275).

The actual site of the Assyrian Source of the Tigris commemorative events has been known to the scholarly community since the nineteenth century when travelers such as J.G. Taylor and Ferdinand

Lehmann-Haupt visited the site and published its inscriptions. This is the spectacular headwaters of the Dibni Su or Birkleyn Çay, which is an important tributary of the Tigris. Birkleyn emerges from a kilometer-long tunnel at a site which features caves, rock outcrops, and gorges, and is known as the Birkleyn Cave System in southeastern Turkey, north of the modern city of Diyarbakr (Doan 2009) (Figure 29). In an article published in *Archaeological Dialogues*, I demonstrated that the representation of the landscape in the Source of the Tigris panel on Balawat bronzes is strikingly commensurate with the topography of Birkleyn (Harmanah 2007b). Confirming the significance of the *salmu* carving events, the reliefs and inscriptions of Tigalath-pileser I and Shalmaneser III are found at the mouth of various caves (Figures 30 and 31) (Schachner 2009).

In acts of making rock-cut monuments, erecting inscribed stelae, and ritually marking symbolically charged and politically contested places with Assyrian instruments of colonial power (“weapons of Aur” or the carved images and words of the Assyrian king), territories outside the Land of Aur proper are demarcated and materially linked to the Land of Aur itself. Beyond the cognitively well-known geography of the Land of Aur as constituted by provinces and maintained by the regimented flow of foodstuffs and goods to the imperial center, the external world of foreign landscapes was associated with Assyria through discourses of cosmic order. Assyrian kings claimed to exercise power from the “Source of the Tigris” to the “Source of the Euphrates,” sites of territorial significance, both of which were properly embellished with Assyrian rock reliefs.

Conclusions: Moving Landscapes and Place-Making Practices

Building activity, by its very nature, is a commemorative act. When we combine the archaeological and visual evidence with textual references to the making of the “Land of Aur” and its frontier landscapes, it becomes evident that foundation and building of new cities and the construction of commemorative monuments went hand in hand as two kinds of landscape commemorations. These site-specific events even overlapped with each other in a number of cases (discussed previously) as two distinct forms of colonizing acts, as two forms of place-making through the inscription of place. It is evident that the making of the “Land of Aur” was a long and arduous process

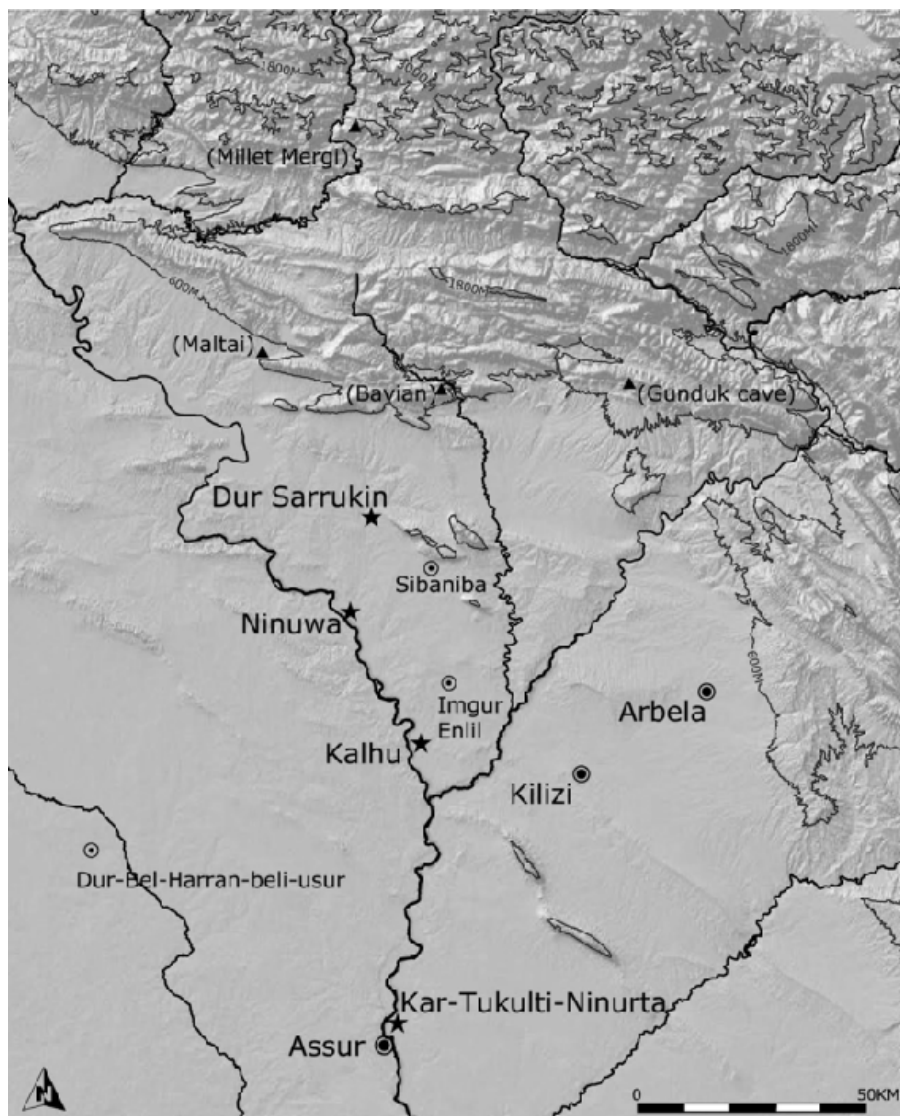
and involved substantial transformations from the fourteenth to the ninth century BCE. Despite the economic difficulties at the close of the Late Bronze Age, the “Land of Aur” was redefined in the well-watered and well-supplied Nnuwa-Kalhu-Arbela region near the confluence of the Tigris and Zab rivers. This gradual northward shift of the political center of power in Assyria overlapped with an increasingly dense settlement structure in the Jazira and the Upper Tigris Basin. The restructuring of these Assyrian provinces and frontiers outside the “Land of Aur” was based on the existing network of landscapes, places and routes of the Middle Assyrian period. Archaeological survey evidence from the Upper Tigris basin and the Jazira suggest a dispersal of settlement in the Early Iron Age, and recentralization during the Middle Iron Age during the height of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

During the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, upper Mesopotamian landscapes exhibit a dynamic world of moving landscapes and new place-making practices. The discussion in this chapter demonstrates how the former Hittite territories were reconfigured through the foundation of cities and towns, the cultivation of the countryside, the development of irrigation systems, the resettlement of populations, and the making of commemorative monuments such as rock reliefs, stelae, and city gates. This fascinating process led to the redefinition of the cultural geographical term “Land of Hatti” of the Late Bronze Age in central Anatolia, relocated in the collective imagination to the north Syrian region around Karkami during the Iron Age. The cultural biographies of the “Land of Hatti” and the “Land of Aur” are then strikingly similar, and must be understood in the broader context of landscape processes in upper Mesopotamia in general.

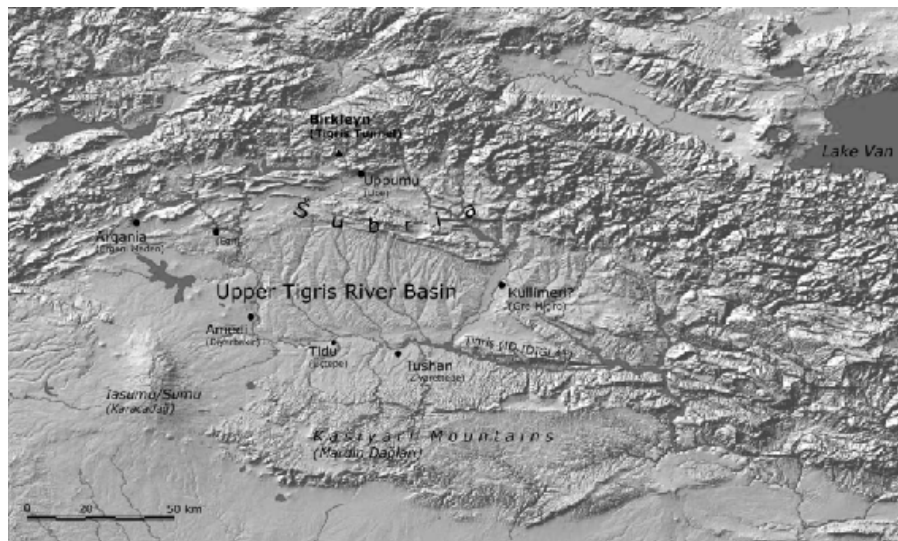
I suggest that there is a very close association between city foundations and monument building as two distinct place-making practices, because they were conceived and represented as commemorative events among the Near Eastern polities of the Iron Age. Following this way of thinking, one could argue that monuments (and, in a way, new cities) are products of a “desire to commemorate,” which is a way of narrating the past (Nelson and Olin 2003: 2). Connerton (1989: 26–27) famously observed that to remember rarely operates as recalling specific and isolated events, but involves “forming meaningful narrative sequences,” and thus is not an act “of reconstruction but of construction.” Commemorative monuments in this sense are structuring agents not only for organizing the past and

making sense of it, but also for locating those narratives and stories in the landscape and embedding them into geographies of power. Newly built cities and towns in the settlement landscape can be considered as such spatial articulations of the ruling elite in redefining their relationship with the past, their ancestors and the inherited land.

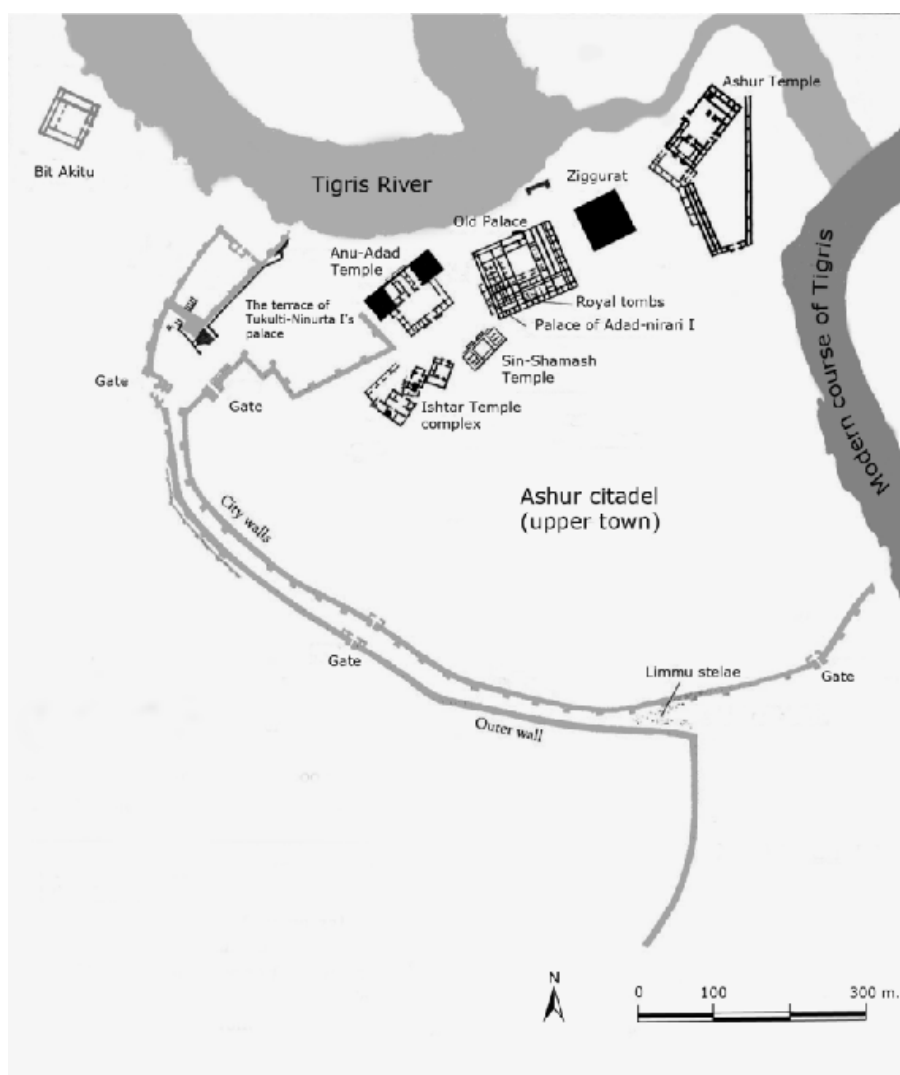
To introduce an alternative to this view, one could also say that monuments are products of local cultural practices as much as they are expressions of political authority. Knapp (2009: 47) recently wrote that “monumental buildings are culturally constructed *places*, enduring features of the landscape that actively express ideology, elicit memory and help to constitute identity” (my emphasis). Commemorative monuments in particular are structures that embody a deep kind of historicity, while featuring a collective sense of belonging and cultural memory laden with stories (Canepa 2010: 564 and n. 7; Holliday 2002: xx–xxi). This richness is usually attributed to the visual, textual, and architectural corpus or design of monuments, mainly their narrative or iconographic content. I suggest that their effectiveness in captivating public imagination also derives from the specific site of their construction, and the cultural significance associated with their locality. In addition to their inscriptions, visual narratives, or architectural symbolism, monuments are made meaningful by virtue of their *place*, the way they speak to the cultural landscape to which they are introduced. In the next chapter, the relationship between this narrativity of monuments and the making of urban space is discussed in greater detail in light of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from Assyrian Kalhu and Syro-Hittite Karkami.



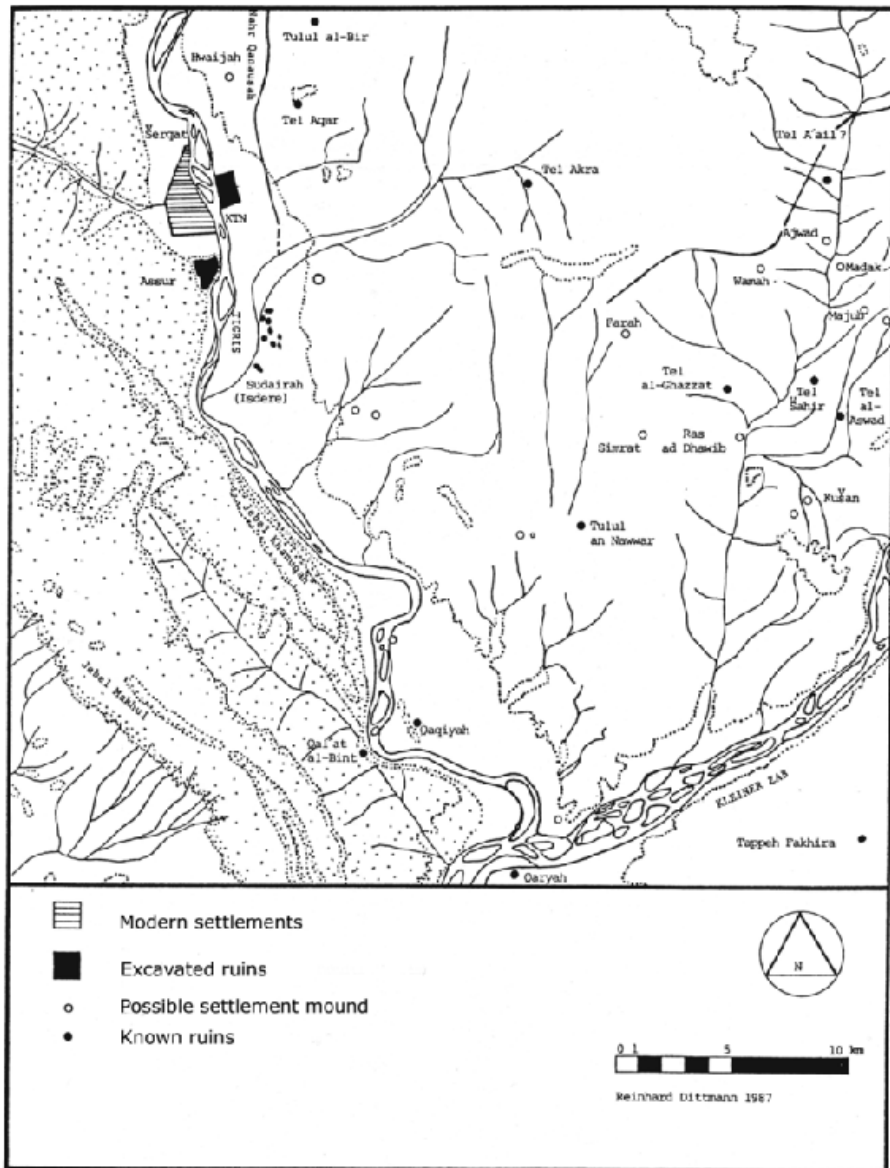
19 “Land of Aur” Upper Middle Tigris region in the Iron Age. Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief, World Linear Water, and World Elevation Contours.



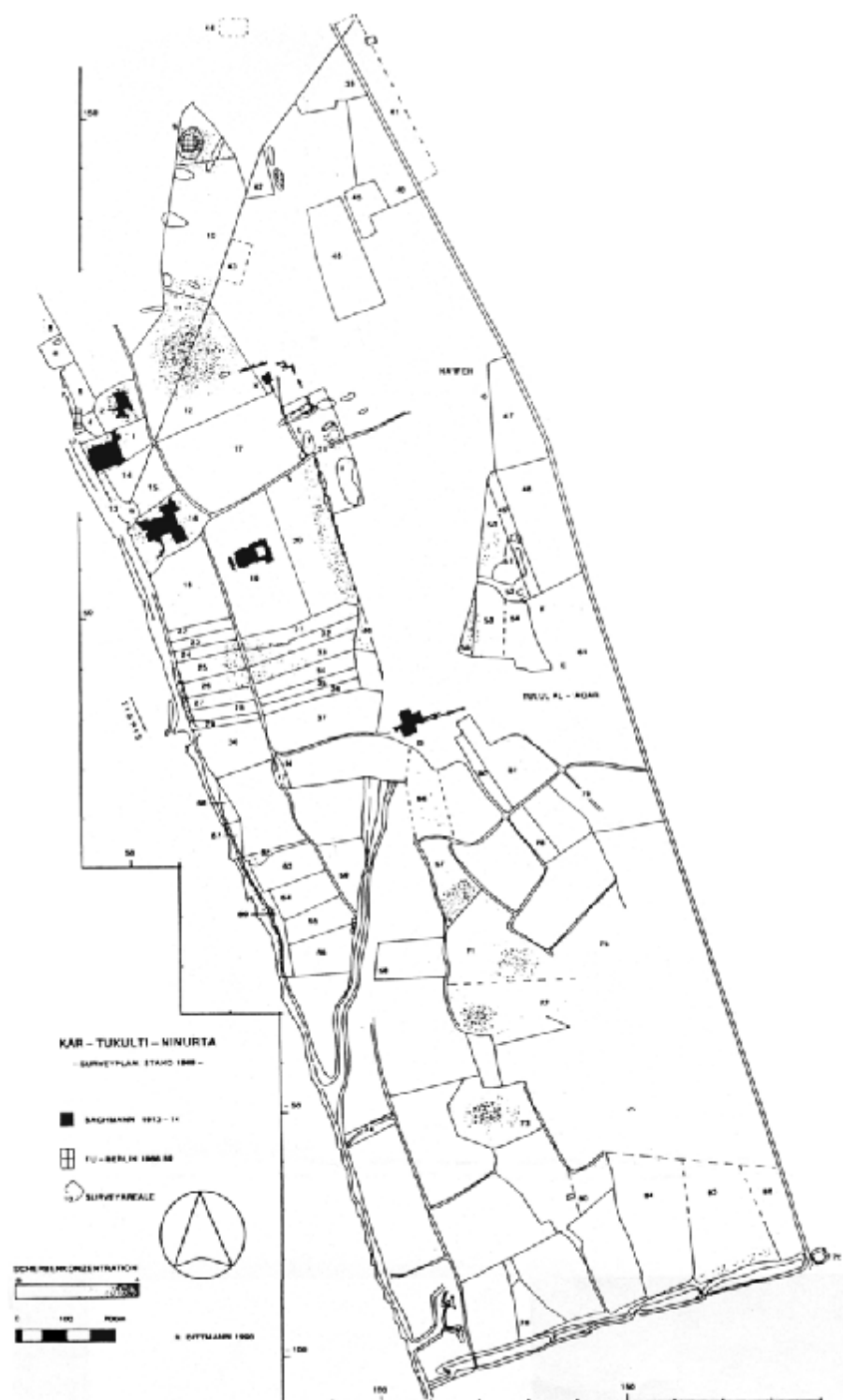
20 Upper Tigris River Basin during the Iron Age. Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief.



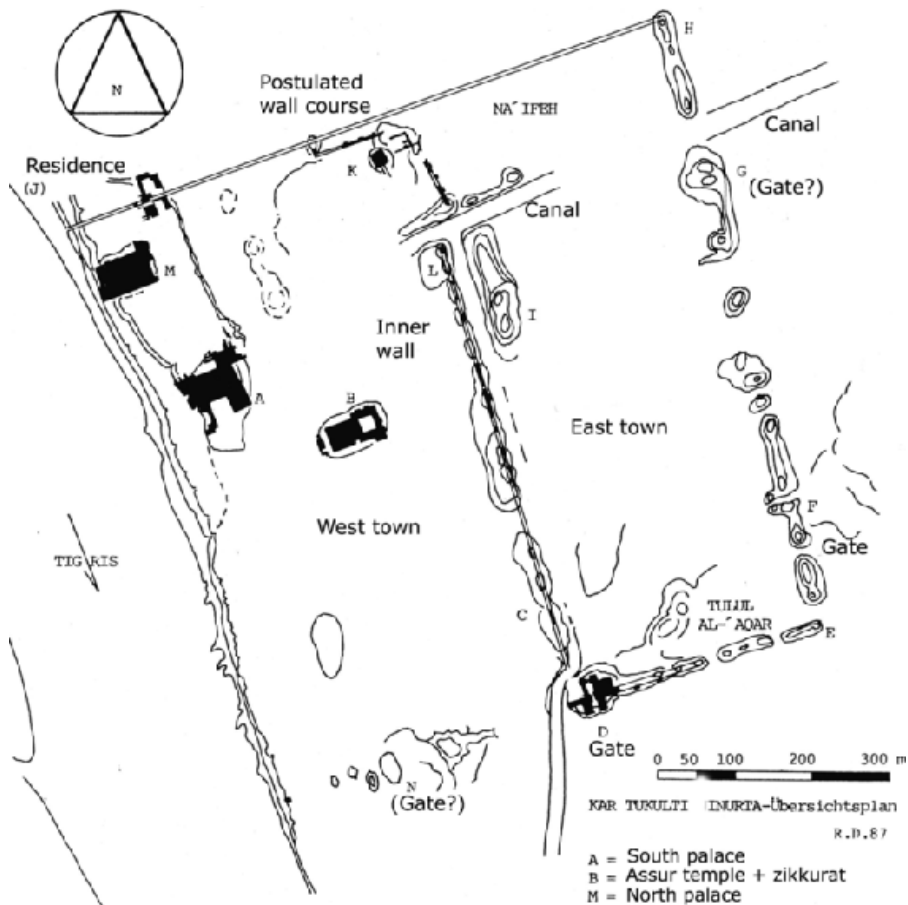
21 Site plan of Aur. (Adapted from Harper *et al.* 1995: fig. 2.)
 Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



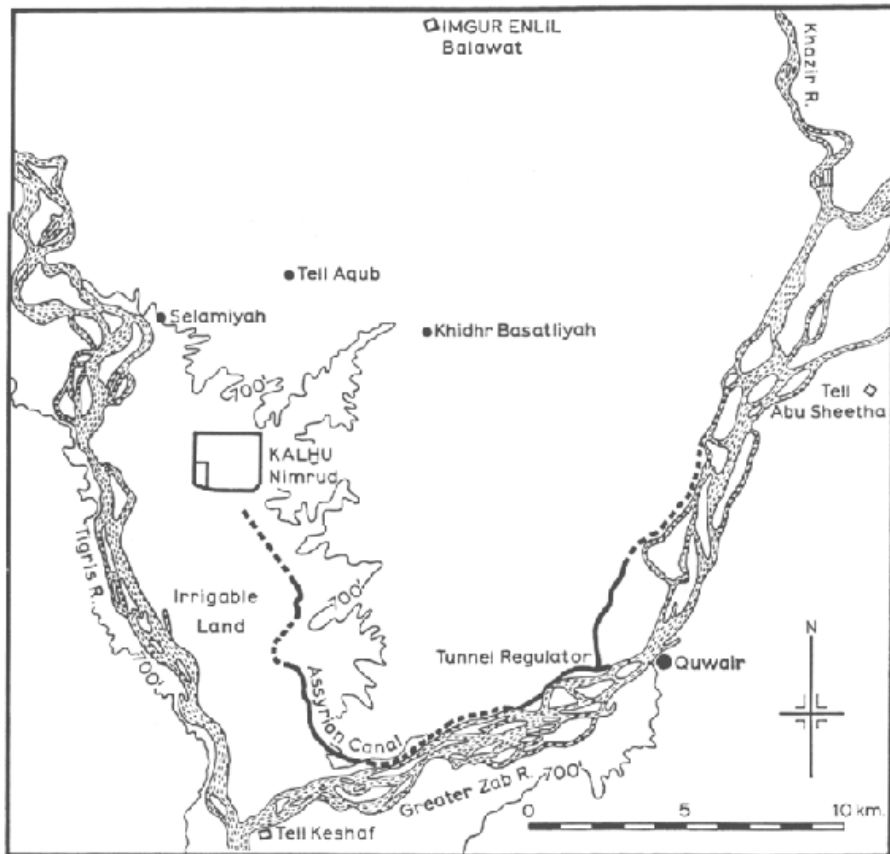
22 The environs of Aur and Kr-Tukult-Ninurta. (Dittmann et al. 1988: Abb 1.) Courtesy of Reinhard Dittmann.



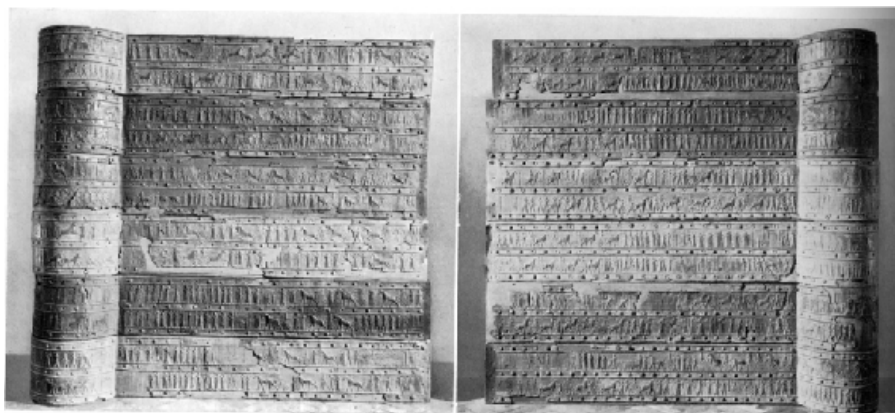
23 Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, surface survey map of the settlement as of 1989. (Dittmann 1990: Abb 5.) Courtesy of Reinhard Dittmann.



24 Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, plan of the monumental sector of the city. (Dittmann 1990: Abb 5.) Courtesy of Reinhard Dittmann.



25 Immediate environs of Kalhu, showing the *Patti-hegalli* irrigation canal and the Negb Tunnel. (Oates 1968: fig. 3.) Courtesy of the British Academy.



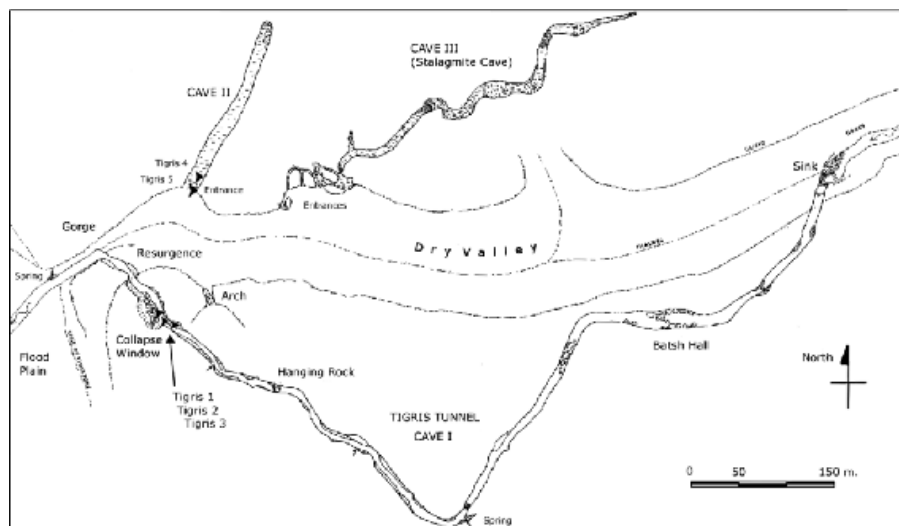
26 Bronze door reliefs of Shalmaneser III, Tell Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) (King 1915).



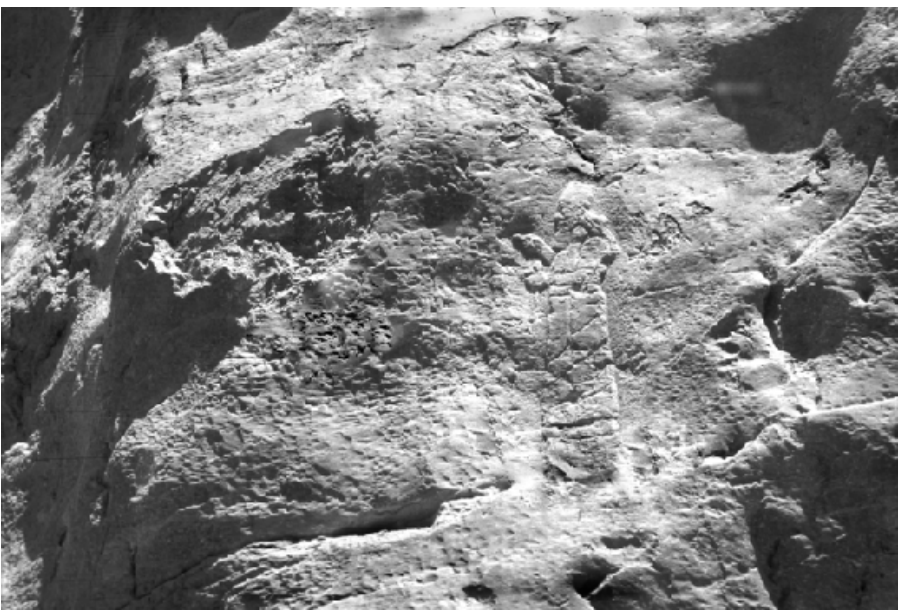
27 Bronze door reliefs of Shalmaneser III, Tell Balawat (Imgur-Enlil), Relief Panel 10. (King 1915: Plate LIV).



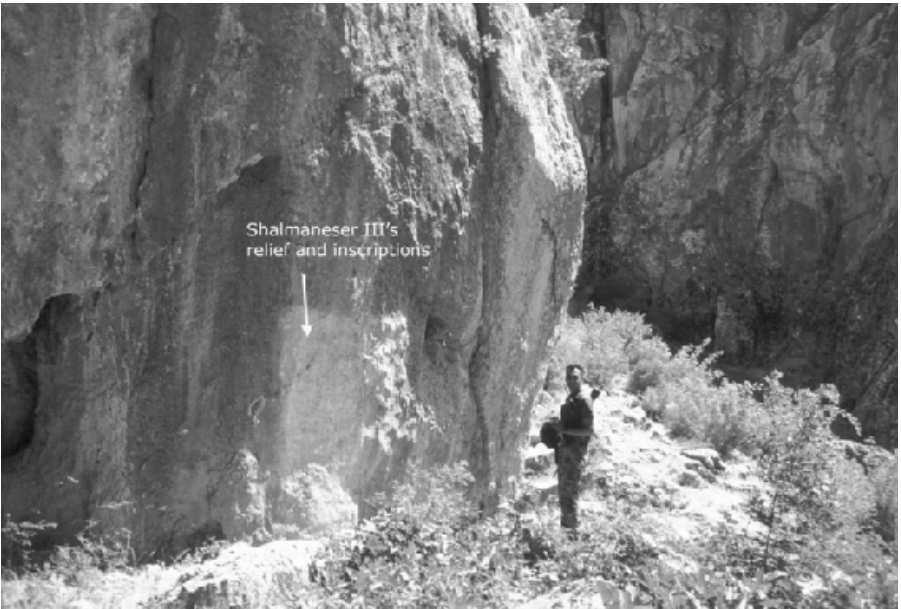
28 Bronze door reliefs of Shalmaneser III, Tell Balawat (Imgur-Enlil), Relief Panel 10 detail. (King 1915: Plate LIV).



29 Plan of the Tigris Tunnel area and environs at Birkleyn Çay (after Waltham 1976). Courtesy of Tony Waltham.



30 Relief image of Tiglath-pileser I on the Lower Cave (Cave I) walls, with Tigris 1 cuneiform inscription to his left.



31 Tigris Tunnel-Birkleyn Çay, Upper Cave mouth with Shalmaneser III's relief and inscriptions.

Four City and the Festivalmonuments, urban space, and spatial narratives

...The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

(Calvino [1978](#): 11)

...As meeting ground for immigrant populations from the immediate hinterlands as well as from distant territories, a city represents a new social order, in which numerous different social groups must coexist.

(Smith [2003b](#): 1)

Introduction: Ceremony, Performance, and Building in the City

Cities are theaters of social action. With commemorative ceremonies and public spectacles of the state, rituals and festivals, everyday performances in public spaces, funerals, feasts, and a multitude of such collective celebrations, cities are places where an *urban drama* continuously unfolds, as Lewis Mumford has once put it (1961: 114). Urban spaces are repeatedly animated by large- and small-scale social events that not only leave a permanent imprint on the surfaces of the city's public spaces and the memory of its citizens, but also determine the very character of urban form in the long term. The Hittite capital Hattua had some 165 festivals in its cultic calendar and a large portion of cuneiform documents found in its archives offer detailed descriptions of specific festivals (Bryce [2002](#): 187–210). Babylon, the capital city of the Late Babylonian dynasty was described in the topographical texts of the mid-first millennium BCE as “the city of

festivals, rejoicing and dancing,...the city whose people continually celebrate festivals” (George 1997). The evocative Sumerian literary compositions that are known as “city lamentations” and are dated to the early second millennium BCE, describe the worst catastrophe for social order as “the scattering” of the city's rituals (Tinney 1996). The social order and the temporal rhythm of urban living depended on rites and festivals. Performance and public celebration, therefore, are essential aspects of urban life in the Ancient Near East.

When the construction of the Assyrian capital city of Kalhu was completed in early decades of the ninth century BCE, Ar-nsir-apli II offered an impressive banquet to the city's citizens, construction workers, and the invited envoys from various states. Additionally, he commemorated his building project and feasting event on a monumental stele raised in a special chamber adjacent to his throne room in the Northwest Palace. Cities are, by definition, eventful topographies where continuously evolving urban form and meaning depend on its repeated and spontaneous festivals, spectacles, and performances. If we want to explore the production of urban space and the making of its monuments, we are required to pay attention to its large- and small-scale collective events. In this chapter, I suggest that large-scale building programs in upper Mesopotamian cities of the Iron Age were regarded as festive events. The construction of a new city or the introduction of a new urban scheme must have had a significant impact on collective identity and shared memories because such building programs are innovative and reflective moments in urban histories. These were moments when new official narratives of history are conceived and took material form in state ceremonies and public monuments.

In the previous chapters, it was proposed that foundation of cities by Iron Age rulers were symbolic acts that involved the construction of an image of the new city as a landscape of economic prosperity, political power, and religious spectacle. The act of the urban foundation appears as a monumental accomplishment of the governing elite in the historical record where it is connected to the larger political discourse of kingship. Beyond the written word, the physical layout of the city, and its public spaces and commemorative monuments, were also significant in representing this state discourse to the subject citizens. This chapter is specifically about the mechanics of this representational practice and its effectiveness in the gradual constitution of urban spaces comparatively in the Assyrian and Syro-Hittite political contexts, with specific emphasis on the Early Iron Age

building programs at Kalhu and Karkami. With this comparative study, it is first demonstrated that the making of urban space is a much more gradual and piecemeal process than it is usually represented in the historical record. Second, it is also shown that appropriation of existing cultural practices and their places, spaces, and landscapes of significance are an important part of the imperial urban renewal programs. The latter argument is crucial in understanding urban space as a social product.

The previous two chapters contextualized the practice of founding new cities in the long-term processes of landscape transformation. Both among the Syro-Hittite states and in the Assyrian Empire, cities are discussed as products of particular socioeconomic, environmental, and historical circumstances. Moving as it does from this wider scale of the environmental context into the confined world of the urban center, this chapter is involved with aspects concerning the physical construction of cities. The complexity of the construction process as social practice lends itself to a careful parsing of the practice into its components of state ideology, cultural practices, economic strategies, urban politics, and building technologies. If the foundation of cities is a process of the production of space, it is in effect a negotiated outcome of those components, and the resulting urban plan is a palimpsest of all related activities. The chapter intends to present neither a thorough survey of Near Eastern city-building practices, nor an inventory of newly built towns of the Iron Age. Instead, it attempts to generate a discourse on urban space as guided by the idea of the festival as social practice, and is based primarily on the archaeological evidence for the materiality of spatial (i.e., space producing) practices.

First, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of interpreting urban spaces of ancient world with particular reference to Henri Lefebvre's discussion of the social production of urban space. In the following section, I review the major topographical aspects of Upper Mesopotamian cities of the Early Iron Age, highlighting the inter-regional trends in the development of urban spaces. Third, the foundation of Kalhu is presented as part of the ninth century Assyrian king Ar-nsir-apli II's cultural renewal program in the light of textual evidence. The fourth section surveys Kalhu's urban landscape with the help of archaeological evidence and discusses the ceremonial and commemorative practices that shaped the structure of urban spaces in the city. The final section brings in comparative building programs from the Syro-Hittite sphere and discusses the relationship between

cult practices and urban construction in North Syrian centers in the Early Iron Age. The case of Karkami in the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE allows us to understand how state spectacles and cult festivals merged together in the making of public spaces of Early Iron Age cities.

The Production of Urban Space

The mechanics behind the production of space in general and urban space in particular, are complex. First and foremost, space is understood here as a social product, as famously asserted by Henri Lefebvre (1991), by virtue of the fact that it is generated through the activities of a collective body. What is meant by this statement is not the materialist cliché that reiterates that a monumental building project requires mass labor and a powerful elite to organize that labor (see, for example, Trigger 1990). Instead, the statement suggests that the activity of spatial production is a realm in which the society reproduces itself through the various forms of social action (ritual practices, state spectacles, everyday activities, and movement in the city), while the newly created social space is molded into the material forms and meanings that are generated by the same social action.¹ This is not to deny the unequal, unbalanced distribution of agencies at work in the making of urban space across the society, ranging widely from the grand decisions of the ruling elite to the walking routines of citizens on the street (De Certeau 1984: 91–110). In fact, it is precisely this complexity of spatial production that is of concern here.²

In *The Production of Space* (1991), Henri Lefebvre tackled the relationship of social space, human practices, and their representations on three levels: representations of space, representational space, and spatial practice.³ According to Lefebvre, *representations of space* are products of imagination by agents, “social engineers” who conceive, plan, and initiate the physical production of space. This realm of project-making is by its nature a heavily politicized domain and involves the exercise of ideology and power over specialized knowledge (Lefebvre 1991: 38–39; Merrifield 2000: 174). City foundations as projects of Iron Age political agents can accordingly be considered first as a symbolic act and a rhetorical gesture, but at the same time as a “technological utopia,” to use Lefebvre's term. Lefebvre (1991: 9) refers to projects of spatial production as technological utopia because they are ambitious attempts that intend to go beyond the existing limits of production.⁴ Second, *representational space* is the “space as directly lived through its

associated images and symbols, and hence the space of the 'inhabitants' and 'users,'" the space of everyday life (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Lefebvre's representational space is a symbolic overlay on the physical structure of *lived* space, and acts as the domain of collective imagination that resists planning. The third concept is the *spatial practices* that secrete that society's space (Lefebvre 1991: 38). The concept refers to the slow-moving processes of social action, all forms of material activity that transform and restructure the spatial environment. The practice of founding cities, therefore, rests on the convergence of these three realms; namely (a) the utopic ideals of the imperial agents, (b) the social significations of space, and (c) the material practices of the society.

Distinct from Lefebvre's ideas, material practices of ruling agents and the society were discussed from an anthropological perspective by Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle (1996). They take ideology as the "central element of a cultural system" and suggest that the materialization of ideologies take place in multiple forms: (a) in the form of ceremonial events, (b) the making of symbolic artifacts, (c) construction of monuments, and (d) the development of writing systems (DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996: 15). Social power becomes manifest through these four realms, which are publicly shared phenomena. What they all share is a certain form of performativity. Ceremonial events, for one, are public spectacles that surpass the modalities of everyday life. Their purpose is to shape the society's relationship with its past, while maintaining the well-being of social cohesion. These spectacular events materialize in words (rhetoric), things (artifacts, offerings), and gestures (performance). Second, the making of symbolic artifacts develops a collectively shared visual culture. Additionally, the limitation of access to precious raw materials, craft technologies, and styles becomes a domain of social agency and political ideology. Symbolic artifacts and offerings are fundamental components of ceremonies and rituals: it is through their material presence that the social event takes on meaning. Third, public monuments are material manifestations of the utopic ideals of the governing elite although they are eventually transformed by social actors. Fourth, textual and visual narratives present rhetorical discourses that are communicated through their performance during festivals and through their display on monuments and artifacts.

To address the material processes involved in the building of new cities in the ancient Near East, both in the Lefebvrian and in the

anthropological sense, the following discussion concentrates specifically on the relationship between the construction of monuments and the idea of the ceremonial event, the two forms of the materialization of ideologies discussed earlier in this chapter. The ceremonial event, which is referred to here as the *festival*, is a civic spectacle that transforms the society through the society's bodily participation, while it also transforms the spaces within which the event occurs. This transformation is possible through the organizing gestures of the collective body. Festivals are politicized stages for the construction and reversal of social values, the making and unmaking of collective memories, and the affirmation and negation of social hierarchies. Moreover, festivals are understood as “a focus of moral and material renewal of the community at large” (Wengrow 2001: 169).

The construction of a city itself is a festive undertaking. A closer look at the construction of cities in ancient Near Eastern history reveals that building activities were dramatic public events, and episodes of social change. A remarkable example of this is the Assyrian king Sargon II's organization to build Dur-arrukn (Khorsabad) between 721 and 705 BCE. Building craftsmen and groups of workers from the provinces of the empire participated in the construction, as it is well known from the king's correspondences with the leaders of the workers (Parpola 1995). Building projects brought the society together in an intensive productive undertaking and became a context for social transactions, transfer of artisanal knowledge, technological innovation, labor mobilization, and exploitation of natural resources. Second, the customary festive practices such as feasting, banquets, religious festivals, rituals, state spectacles, fairs, and markets were components of urban festivals; and they are primary agents in the making of the urban environment.⁵ The planned and ceremoniously built urban space is progressively transformed and eventually reoriented by the festive practices. Because of the collective and performative character of such events, the resulting urban spatial form was also essentially monumental and spectacular.

De Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (1991) regard “spatial practices” as all sorts of everyday and extraordinary activities that construct, structure, and transform spaces in material form and in the collective imagination. Thus, spatial practices are not confined to building activities, but equally encompass all practices that contribute to the formation of material and symbolic assemblages of spaces. It is true

that the construction of a palace, the erection of public monuments like inscribed stelae, and the artisanal technologies involved in their making are spatial practices, but, as De Certeau and Lefebvre would advocate, so are stories about places and monuments, shared recollections of past events related to urban spaces, daily ritual activities, weekly marketplaces established at the city gates, and walking routines of the citizens that continuously alter the face of the city. In the historical record and architectural evidence, the first set is always well represented, whereas the residues of the second set are hard to document with the notable exception of fine-tuned archaeological fieldwork. The opening epigraph from Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* poetically characterizes this point: how does a city keep and tell the memory of its own past? This memory is a material one, inscribed like a text on the surfaces of buildings and streets, artifacts of the urban space, and its distinct meaningful places (Crinson 2005: xii).

The material residues of spatial practices in the archaeological record are studied as objects of depositional practice, a term much more commonly used in archaeology. Depositional practices lead to the formation of material “assemblages” that are associated with particular architectural spaces. In processualist archaeological literature, architectural space is usually seen as a static, neutral, Cartesian frame of reference for archaeological assemblages. By the help of this abstract framework, the contexts of the excavated artifacts can be easily mapped through their association with particular architectural spaces, buildings, rooms, and loci, to name a few. These spatial units constitute a readily available classification matrix for artifact databases. It is now agreed by many contemporary scholars that material assemblages are constituents of architectural space themselves, and cannot be so easily dissociated from their environment (Smith and David 1995; Steadman 1996). Architectural space in turn cannot be abstracted and reduced to a container or a vehicle of material classification, and should not be understood as a set of boundaries delimiting a void. It is instead taken here as the totality of architectonic and material presences that continuously evolve by means of the human activities associated with them, or as Lefebvre would put it, by means of the social energy that is deployed in them (Lefebvre 1991: 13). The contemporary social theory and critical anthropological discourse, as discussed earlier, has been attempting to incorporate the study of architectural space into the flourishing material culture studies, by re-articulating on the methodologies for understanding the sociopolitical and economic aspects of the processes of spatial production – in particular, historical

and environmental contexts.

A discussion of upper Mesopotamian city-building practices must incorporate a critical perspective that evaluates spatial production and spatial signification as long-term cultural processes. To begin, the archaeological and textual evidence for various physical components of the cities, such as public spaces, architectural complexes, commemorative monuments and urban layouts are studied in dialogue with public festivals and festive building activities, which gave shape and meaning to public spaces. A series of architectural examples illustrate the correlation between practices and their concrete manifestations – for example, Syro-Hittite city gates and urban plazas, Assyrian palaces and palace gardens, and *narû*-monuments. Performativity of state spectacles and ritual practices is addressed in reference to the ceremonial and dramatic aspects of urban landscapes. The narrative character of commemorative monuments that were erected in strategic locations in the cities suggest that the public realm of spatial production was essentially composed of places of ideological contestation and construction of social memory and collective identity.

The Upper Mesopotamian City: Aspects of Planning and Urban Formation

The most prominent morphological aspect of the urban topography in the Upper Syro-Mesopotamian cities during the second and first millennia BCE was the separation of the upper city from the lower city, both of which were enclosed within fortification walls and series of monumental gates. This was essentially an architectural phenomenon shared by Anatolian Hittite, north Syrian, and Assyrian traditions, despite their major regional differences. The upper Mesopotamian urban form developed through a long-term cumulative process that began in the Middle Bronze Age and culminated in the Late Bronze Age with some remarkable examples, including Hattua, Emar, Qatna, Ebla, and Aur. The Iron Age cities, on the other hand, either simply took over the existing urban topography (e.g., Karkami) or attempted to recreate similar citadel-lower town distinctions with organized urban-planning efforts, using ancient mounds (Kalhu, Guzna), artificial terracing (Dr arrukn), and natural eminences (Tupa, Azatiwataya).

The upper city, variously referred to in the contemporary literature

as the “high mound” or “citadel,” was largely occupied by public buildings, especially palace complexes of the ruling elite, other elite residences, administrative structures, temple compounds, and ceremonial spaces. The citadel area was connected with the lower city through a series of major streets and monumental gates. The piecemeal development of the residential neighborhoods of the cities often led to the formation of a series of “lower towns” and “suburbs,” as was the case in Syro-Hittite Karkam, the Late Bronze Age site of Tell Bazi in North Syria and Late Assyrian Dr-Katlimmu. As each of these urban components was incorporated within a new fortification wall, such cities cumulatively acquired multi-walled systems that encircled and delineated the urban core of the city in various periods of its history, and the citadel mound gradually shifted to the edge of the settlement. The topographic differentiation between various parts of the city that were segregated by fortification walls created a dramatic urban landscape, especially along the ascending streets from the surrounding plain through a series of ceremonial gateways leading to the high platforms of cultic installations and public monuments at or closer to the citadel.

Such a ceremonial urban layout is found in the Hittite capital Hattua during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE. At Hattua, the lower city and its temple complex of the Storm God (Temple A), the citadel of Büyükkale where the kings’ palace complex stood, the adjacent ritual grounds of Niantepe and Südburg Sacred Pool complex, and the upper city with the multiplicity of its temples were all delimited by a substantial fortification system punctuated with ceremonial gates and towers.⁶ Major festivals of the city’s cultic calendar such as the AN.TAH.UM festival of the spring, and the KILAM (“Gate-house”) must have substantially shaped the cultic topography of the city.⁷ Hattua’s and other central and south-central Anatolian cities’ multi-terraced monumentality in urban form must have had a strong impact on how cities continued to be built in upper Mesopotamia during the Iron Age (Bunnens 1995: 123–124). Through a processional street, Hattua was linked with an extra-mural rock-cut sanctuary at Yazlkaya; and in very similar ways, certain major Assyrian capital cities such as Aur, Arbela, and Nnuwa were linked to *aktu* sanctuaries in the middle of the steppe (Pongratz-Leisten 1994).⁸ These major processional arteries of the city were routes of spectacle and display during civic festivals and constituted both the physical and the socio-symbolic backbone of urban landscapes.

The formation of the high mounds in the landscape of Upper

Mesopotamia, a process that largely started in the mid-third millennium BCE, was discussed in the previous chapters. By the end of the Bronze Age, thousands of abandoned mounds were a significant feature of cultural landscapes, especially along the river valleys in the Jazira. Given the fact that several place names existed in upper Mesopotamia during the Iron Age qualified with the noun *tilu* (“hill, mound”), ruined mounds in the landscape must have been envisioned as an ancestral topography of settlement. When the rulers of the Iron Age first started to initiate the foundation of new urban centers, these ancient high mounds, which were conveniently located on the banks of the rivers, presented suitable building sites for new citadels. The examples for such practice are numerous. Middle Assyrian Kalhu (Tell Nimrud) and Nunuwa (Koyunjik) were settled on top of Ninevite-5 (Early Bronze Age) mounds; the Syro-Hittite city of Kunulua (Tell Ta'yinat) in the Amuq plain was founded in the Early Iron Age on top of a third-millennium mound; the Aramaean citadel of Guzana (Tell Halaf) surmounts an important Chalcolithic settlement (Figures 17–18). On a smaller scale, the thirteenth century BCE settlement at Tell Sabi Abyad was built on a Late Neolithic-Early Halaf *tell* (Akkermans and Rossmeisl 1990; Akkermans Limpens and Spoor 1993), whereas Harbu (Tell Chura) rests on a third millennium *Kranzhügel* (Kühne 1996). It would certainly be misleading to generalize this settlement strategy to all settlement foundations in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age; however, it is clear that for certain new cities and towns, the topography of ancient mounds offered physical settings for the new settlement.

Moreover, liberal use of artificial building platforms for the construction of citadels or as foundation terraces for large building complexes enhanced the dramatic effect of the urban topography (Lackenbacher 1982: 101–103, Naumann 1971). Tukult-Ninurta I's palace at Aur, *é.LUGAL.UMUN.KUR.KUR.RA*, (also known as the “New Palace”) was built on such a massive platform of sun-dried mudbrick with limestone foundations rising above it (Figure 21) (Andrae 1977: 162–164). An approximate area of 29,000 square meters was cleared of dilapidated building debris three to ten meters (or more) down to the bedrock and raised the monumental platform above the existing structures on the citadel. In his foundation inscriptions, Ar-nisir-apli II refers to a terrace platform of 120 courses of mudbrick for his Northwest Palace at Kalhu, and Mallowan suggests that the existing mound was extended westward by Ar-nisir-apli's craftsmen to form a terrace for the Northwest Palace.⁹ Similar large-scale artificial platforms are attested in the citadels of Tell Ta'yinat (Haines 1971) and Tell Halaf (Oppenheim et al. 1950).

Through the strategic use of existing topographic prominence of ancient mounds enhanced with monumental platforms, the builders of new cities were able to establish a hierarchical urban landscape that differentiated the citadel and the lower town from the very outset. Furthermore, such a setting allowed the construction of a dramatic urban setting in which the spectacles of the state could be performed throughout the course of the building project and the civic ceremonies that followed. Whether or not the antiquity of these former settlements was embedded within the collective memory of the settlers can be debated. But if this hypothesis is correct, the (then-perceived) antiquity of these sites might have influenced their selection as new settlement areas.

When Ar-nsir-apli II initiated the construction of Kalhu, he boasted that he had “cleared away the old ruined hill” (DU6 *labru unakkir*).¹⁰ The idea of settling on ancient mounds and revitalizing abandoned cities was clearly central to his royal rhetoric, as it was discussed in the earlier chapters. This strategy is in striking contrast to how certain Assyrian and Urartian rulers portrayed the foundation site of their new imperial cities: uncultivated, virgin landscapes, “where no bricks were laid.” Tukult-Ninurta I founded Kr-Tuklti-Ninurta in the desolate plains where no ruined hills existed. Sargon II's Dr-arrukn was also built largely on virgin soil and there the citadel was artificially elevated from the city to a height of approximately 12 m by means of a massive foundation platform (Loud, Frankfort, and Jacobsen 1936). Such varying strategies about the choice of the building site suggest that the imperial rhetoric about the construction of cities was fitted to the particular environmental and historical circumstances of the formation of new urban center. Additionally, Aur-nasir-apli II's description of a landscape composed of ruins gives us an important image of a constellation of ancestral places in ruins that are recognized to be pre-Iron Age towns in the collective memory. This landscape of memory is presented in contrast to the cultivated and urbanized landscape of Ar-nsir-apli's empire.

Establishment of geometrically shaped lower towns delimited with fortifications is a frequently attested architectural practice in the Iron Age, as building and fortifying lower towns became a major component of the urban construction projects.¹¹ Several Assyrian city foundations had rectilinear layouts, including Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, Kalhu, Imgur-Enlil, Dr-Katlimmu, Dr-arrukn, and others.¹² In the Syro-Hittite sphere, it is possible to identify both rectilinear and perfectly circular layouts: Guzana (Tell Halaf) is a good example for

the former and Sam'al (Zincirli) for the latter (Figure 32). In central Anatolia, the mountain-top city at Göllüda in Tabal is particularly striking with the orthogonal planning of its unfinished citadel (Figure 33). The city wall at Göllüda follows the contours of the volcanic crater ridge; therefore, the overall layout of the city was determined by the topography of the place. However, a series of urban blocks built on terraces over the highest ridge are orthogonal in plan and they are composed of several identical building units. This area is in the center of the site and was clearly built in correlation with the palatial complex. The orthogonal layout of urban blocks unmistakably suggests a regulated division of the site prior to construction. The excavation by Burhan Tezcan in late 1960s of a building complex with plainly carved orthostats and gate lions confirmed the Syro-Hittite character of this mountain top city (Tezcan 1968). Similarly, in the topographically challenging sites such as Azatiwataya (Karatepe), Kerkenes Da, and Emar (Tell Meskene), the hilly landscape was used as an advantage for overall design of the urban layout.

The establishment of a regularly planned lower town makes sense in the case of city foundations for which relatively flat lowland terrain was available. The regularity of the lower town plan itself was loaded with a symbolism of social and worldly order. At the same time, and as a representation of the worldly order, planned settlements appear as manifestations of the utopian ideals of the ruling elite. The representations of cities and military camps in the narrative programs on the orthostat reliefs of Assyrian palaces and on the monumental bronze door bands from Balawat often illustrate them in plan layout, and the cities usually appear rectangular or circular in form. I would suggest that the idea of establishing settlements with perfectly rectangular or circular layouts may have been directly derived from temporary settlements such as military camps or caravan enclosures. This idea is comparable to the Umayyad *amsr*, the military camps of the Early Muslim campaigns (Wheatley 2001: 40f.). These foundations, such as Al-Basrah and Al-Kfah, which were set at the edge of the desert-steppe and housed the settling Arab tribesmen, had geometrically perfect plans at the outset and later developed into more substantial cities. It is compelling to think in similar terms for the Iron Age Near East, a world where large armies went on extended military campaigns, and where the domesticated camel traveled great distances in long trade caravans. There is, in fact, textual evidence from Sennacherib's inscriptions in which the king describes his construction of the *ekal maarti* in Nnuwa. Sennacherib's workers had "demolished the ruins of the previous *bt kutalli*, which had been built for the camp, for stabling and storage" and proceeded to build the

new palace.¹³ The sites with circular plans, such as Mari (Tell Hariri) in the Middle Bronze Age and Sam'al (Zincirli) in the Iron Age (Figure 32), appear to be important ports of trade for overland caravan routes where temporary accommodation of these caravans and nomadic groups would have been necessary.

In this section, I discussed the general characteristics of the Iron Age cities and their urban landscape in upper Mesopotamia. In the process of the production of urban space, old settlement mounds, prominent rocky natural hills or geologically wondrous places, such as volcanic craters, are used to build citadels for ease of defense. Old settlement mounds are often enhanced with the construction of foundation platforms for creating much more formidable citadels. Lower cities with extensive residential neighborhoods are also included in the orthogonal planning of the cityscape and its fortification. The ideal plans of some Iron Age cities in perfect circular or rectangular form testify for the utopic nature of city foundation projects and can be linked formally to the visual representations of military camps and caravan enclosures. In light of these broader observations, in the next section I turn to the specifics of the foundation of Kalhu and its project of construction at the time of Ašurnasir-apli II (883–859 BCE).

The Foundation of Kalhu: Narrativity and Performance

Large-scale building projects in ancient history are usually understood as parts of comprehensive social, cultural, religious, and political renewal programs. Roman emperor Augustus's program of cultural renewal and his refurbishment of the urban image of Rome (Favro 1996:224; Zanker 1988:101–166) or the Achaemenid King Darius's building program at Persepolis (Briant 2002:168) are good comparisons with Ašurnasir-apli II's program at Kalhu. The public realm of the city was always at the center of such cultural programs, which first and foremost aimed at the development of an urban culture. The newly constructed image of the city in the form of novel architectural and artisanal forms would then come to be associated with the prevailing ideology of the ruling elite and the prosperity of land. Ašurnasir-apli II's civic projects were not simply limited to the foundation and construction of Kalhu, but involved the institutionalization of its social and cultural life, including innovations in the cultic calendar and religious practices, innovations in the production of royal texts,

and incorporation of new forms of royal rhetoric, implementation of a comprehensive visual vocabulary to be employed in the monuments, and a complex program of landscape transformation in the Upper Middle Tigris basin. Such social transformations were incorporated into a historical narrative of cultural renewal in Ar-nasir-apli's royal rhetoric, and will be discussed in the following section. The foundation of Kalhu should be understood in the context of this broad cultural program.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that this complete set of innovations in architecture, craft technologies, urban institutions, and landscape are brought about at the time of Aur-nasir-apli II's building project, as is usually assumed in the field of Assyrian studies. For example, it is usually assumed that the use of carved orthostats with pictorial narrative programs were introduced to Assyrian palace architecture with Aur-nasir-apli II's Northwest Palace (e.g., Collon 1995:130). Chapter 6, however, demonstrates that this is an architectural practice that goes back to the early second millennium BCE in northern Syria and the Levant, and was used in Assyria at the latest at the time of Tukult-apil-earra I (1114–1076 BCE). This architectural example presents archaeological evidence for my earlier suggestion that urban foundation projects appropriate much more deep-rooted practices and longer-term trends as new and novel, and incorporate them into their discourse of newness for constructing an idealized image of power and prosperity.

After Tukult-Ninurta I's earlier foundation of Kr-Tukult-Ninurta in the late thirteenth century BCE, the construction of Kalhu at the time of Ar-nasir-apli II in the ninth century BCE constitutes the first large building project in Assyria during the Iron Age. The monumental scale and the significance of this event are further evident in the fact that it caused a major northward shift of the political and administrative center of the Land of Aur. Because the geopolitical weight of the region of Nnuwa, Arbela, and Kalhu had been ever-increasing in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, this innovation was surely foreseen at the time. The utopian ideal of constructing a new capital city was now being put to reality in the early decades of the ninth century BCE, and Ar-nasir-apli II took on the symbolic and ideological role of the founder of the new city and the new world order. Kalhu remained to be the administrative capital of Assyria (for more than 150 years) until Sargon II (721–705 BCE) initiated the construction of Dr arrukn (modern Khorsabad) about 20 km northeast of Nnuwa (Nineveh), and his son Sennacherib (704–681 BCE) carried out a massive urban

construction program at Nnuwa.¹⁴ The construction of these three capital cities represents three important episodes in Assyrian history when the settlement landscape of the Land of Aur (the Upper Middle Tigris-Upper Zab basin) was reconfigured. The late-eighth-century BCE and early-seventh-century BCE foundations of Dr-arrukn and Nnuwa as large capital cities are roughly contemporaneous with the similar city foundation projects in Syro-Hittite regional states, such as Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Arslanta) in Cilicia (Çambel and Özyar 2003) and Göllüda in Tabal (Schirmer 1993, 1999a), as well as in the Urartian kingdom such as Rusa II's foundations at Toprakkale, Ayanis, Kef Kalesi, Karmir Blur, and Bastam (Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001; Harmanah 2009).

Ar-nsir-apli II commemorated the foundation of Kalhu in a series of inscriptions displayed on various urban monuments. The most detailed account comes from a commemorative monument, known as the “Banquet Stele,” excavated by Mallowan's team in 1951 in situ in a prominent position adjacent to the main throne room of the Northwest Palace (Figures 34 and 35).¹⁵ It is a tall, yellow sandstone stele that was set up inside a small alcove-like room, namely Room EA, which opened directly to the southeast corner of Courtyard E without an exterior wall to the courtyard, similar to an *iwan* design in Islamic architecture. Courtyard E was the *babnu* courtyard of the palace, where larger receptions and state ceremonies took place, and Room EA was immediately east of the monumental Throne Room B. If the king stepped out to the courtyard from his main throne, he would be standing directly in front of the alcove of the stele. The stele was set up in the center of the narrow room above a baked-brick pavement of Ar-nsir-apli. Such an architectural setting of the stele suggests a ceremonial practice associated with it, as remarked by the excavator himself who pointed out to the ceremonial anointing of the stele, known from textual sources (Mallowan 1952: 8). In her dissertation, Ann Shafer attributed ritual function to the Ar-nsir-apli II's commemorative monuments including the “Great Monolith” of Ninurta temple and the Banquet Stele (Shafer 1998: 99–100, 337–339). Mallowan (1966: 62) reports that the waterproofed, baked-brick pavement of the Room EA was repaired and two walls on either side of the stele were buttressed at the time of ulmnu-aared (Shalmaneser) III, suggesting that the significance of the monument was continued after the reign of Ar-nsirapli.

The Banquet Stele bears a unique text among Ar-nsir-apli II's inscriptions, in the sense that it gives a detailed account of the king's civic accomplishments at Kalhu (lines 20–154); but the military

expeditions are only briefly summarized at the beginning of the inscription (lines 10–20).¹⁶ In lines 20–23, the virtues of broad wisdom (*uznu rapatu*) and cunning memory/remembrance of the heart (*hissat libbiya*) are associated with the initiation of the building project as the crafty characters inherent in the personality of the king and the god Ea, necessary for the realization of the foundation:

Aur, the great lord cast his eyes upon me with favor and revealed the authority of rulership from his pure mouth. Ar-nsir-apli, the king whose strength is glory, because of my remembrance of the heart/cunning memory (*hissat libbiya*), which the God Ea, king of apsû, the broad wisdom (*uznu rapatu*) gave me. The city Kalhu, I took in hand for renovation.¹⁷

Likewise, the palace of Ar-nsir-apli was described as “the palace that holds the civilizing wisdom of the city of Kalhu” (*kallu kullat n meqi a URUKalhi*). The use of the expression *nmequ*, translated as “wisdom, sagacity, civilizing knowledge, and skilled craftsmanship” suggests that the king's building projects were understood as a generative force of civilized life.¹⁸

A remarkable portion of the Banquet Stele text is dedicated to Ar-nsir-apli's sweeping program of cultural renewal at Kalhu: the construction of the Northwest Palace (lines 23–32); the settlement of deportees at Kalhu (33–36); the opening of the irrigation canal ^{ID}*Patti-hegalli* and the planting of orchards and vineyards (36–40); the establishment of a paradise garden in the city with spoliated flora from the king's expeditions (with a complete list of the plants and a poetic description of the garden) (40–52); the construction of the temples of Enlil, Ninurta, Ea-arru and Damkina, Adad, and ala, Gula, Sîn, Nabû, arrat-Niphi, Sibitti, Kidmuru in Kalhu (53–68) with an ekphrastic description of the temple of Ninurta (68–72); the establishment of two cult festivals (*ab'u* and *Ullu*) in honor of Ninurta (73–75); the erection of the king's commemorative *salam arrtiya* in the Ninurta temple (76–77); the reconstruction activities in the cities of frontier landscapes (78–83); the king's royal hunts (*ep. bu'uri*) of lions, bulls, ostriches, elephants (84–93); the acquisition of exotic and wild animal herds from various governors (^{LU}*akin*) (95–99); and, finally, a feast for the inauguration (*uarri'unni*) of the palace with a detailed statistical list of what was served and who were invited (103–154).

In this unique historical narrative, the construction projects in the new city are presented in conjunction with other commemorative and symbolically charged rhetorical acts such as royal hunts, institution of cult festivals, a ceremonial banquet, or erection of royal statues. As components of a well-planned program of cultural renewal, the commemorative activities transform the new urban landscape into an eventful stage for the spectacles of the state. Precisely by way of these social events, the monumental complexes of Kalhu were fashioned, socialized, allotted places in the collective consciousness. In addition to the construction of a temple complex dedicated to Ninurta, two annual festivals in the months of Ullu and ab'u (the sixth and eleventh months in the Assyrian cultic calendar, respectively) were instituted.¹⁹ Through the continued observation of the cult festivals, which were distributed more or less throughout the entire year, the social significance of the new city and its cult places was further sustained and reified.

In the Banquet Stele inscription, Ar-nsir-apli claims that he invited 5,000 chiefs (*lumahhe*) and envoys (*appte*) from various neighboring states, 1,500 *zarg* officials of his palace, 16,000 inhabitants (*napti*) of Kalhu, a total of 47,074 men and women from the country, and finally the god Aur and all of the gods of the land for the inauguration of the palace that involved a remarkable feast.²⁰ The list of the food served during the feast takes up a substantial portion of the inscription (34 lines: 106–140) and illustrates not only the abundance of foodstuffs through the indication of their amount (e.g., 500 *aiialu*-deer, 1,000 *mesukku*-birds, 10,000 skins of wine) but also the richness of the various prestige food items (e.g., 10 homers of shelled *dukdu*-nuts, 10 homers of cumin, 10 homers of fine aromatics, 100 containers of roasted *abu*-seeds). The list is comparable to the detailed inventory of the exotic plants, which the king had “studied thoroughly” (*atammaru*) and sampled during his expeditions, and planted in his *kirî sihte* “the garden of delights” (lines 41–52). In the royal garden and the ceremonial banquet, the natural and cultural resources of the empire's peripheral landscapes were assembled and incorporated into the making of its newly built urban center. The royal rhetoric, therefore, creates a narrative of the empire's landscapes, represented in the urban fabric of its capital city. Furthermore, the inauguration banquet takes the role of a crescendo in this dramatic narrative and portrays the entire commemorative program as a festival, a spectacular event that includes the construction of Kalhu.

Spatial Narratives: The Urban Landscape of Kalhu

In the next two sections, I discuss how official narratives of the Assyrian state were communicated with urban citizens through a spatially (rather than a chronologically) organized scheme, which was gradually implemented into public spaces. Through the making of commemorative monuments – such as rock reliefs, stelae, obelisks, inscribed statues, and orthostat relief programs – versions of Assyrian history are inscribed into places and materialized in urban spaces. Spatial narratives are politically charged histories that are constructed meaningfully in public spaces. Each monument is linked to a series of historical events and identified with the accomplishments of the king, whether they are military, economic, symbolic, or civic in nature. This meaningful association of individual monuments with specific histories in the social memory then allows a mnemonic construction of the spaces of the city. In the past, scholars have largely considered individual monuments and their unique representations of the past. In this chapter, I attempt to illustrate how these monuments work together in a closely knit urban landscape.

Building projects at Kalhu were of such a large scale that many were continued and completed at the time of Ar-nsir-apli's successor ulmnu-aared III (Shalmaneser: 858–824 BCE). Therefore the material remains that are discussed here cover the construction activities of most of the ninth century BCE.²¹ The city was built on a conglomerate terrace on the east edge of the Tigris floodplain, 8 km north of the confluence of the Tigris and the Upper Zab rivers (Figure 25). The fortification wall of the lower town, 7.5 km in length, covers an approximate area of 360 ha (Figure 36). Ar-nsir-apli's citadel was constructed on a high Early Bronze Age mound, 20 ha in size, along the ridge overlooking the ancient bed of the Tigris River (Figure 37). The southern and southeastern edges of the city were also delimited by a deep tributary of the Tigris that flows eastward.²² On the southeastern edge of the city, the lower town fortifications envelope the mound of Tulul al-‘Azar, on which stood the “Fort Shalmaneser,” *ekal marti* (“review palace”) built by Shalmaneser (ulmnu-aared) III (Figure 38). In contrast to the irregular southern and western edges of the city, the northern and eastern limits were defined by the rectilinearly laid out city wall on the lower plain.

The appositional setting of the double citadels, the main upper city and the *ekal marti* as the two prominent topographical eminences on the river's edge, gave a distinctive spatial definition to the urban structure of Kalhu. Disposed symmetrically as the two balancing poles of political authority, the upper city of the Northwest Palace and

monumental temple complexes on the one side and *ekal marti* on the other dominated the urban landscape and acted as two preeminent stages of state spectacle. This urban scheme was one of the very distinctive features of Assyrian capital cities in the Iron Age, and is also repeated in the planning of Dr arrukn and Nnuwa in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Winter 1993: 31). In Dr arrukn, apart from the main citadel and contemporaneously with it, “Palace F” was built on an artificial platform along the southwestern edge of the city and enveloped by the lower town fortifications, most probably to serve as the *ekal marti*.²³ At Sennacherib's (Sîn-ahh-erba) Nnuwa, the upper town on the Koyunjik mound was complemented by the *ekal marti* complex on Tell Nebi Yunus; and, similar to others, it was set apart from the main citadel and raised along the fortified edge of the city.²⁴ This monumental duplicity in the Assyrian urban form, as I shall argue later, illustrates the double nature of the ceremonial activity in the Assyrian cities: one associated with royal ceremonies of the state and cult festivals, and the other with the military parades and triumphal processions.

In the urban topography of Kalhu, the lower town is very little known archaeologically. Based on preliminary observations, scholars suggest two possible lower town gates, the Nnuwa Gate on the North wall, 500 m east of the northwest corner, and the East Gate, immediately northeast of the *ekal marti* (Oates and Oates 2001: 28).²⁵ The East Gate aligns on an east–west street axis with the only archaeologically known gate on the citadel wall, the one located immediately to the northeast of Nabu temple complex. This gateway was flanked by monumental gypsum lion sculpture, bearing inscriptions of ulmnu-aared III (of the year 855 BCE), while a broad thoroughfare paved with stone slabs went through this gate and connected the lower town to the center of citadel, passing through the Nabu temple and the “Governor's Palace.”²⁶ To compensate the elevation difference between the citadel and the lower town, the street was built as a cobbled ramp and steadily climbed up to the gate (Mallowan 1952: 3). Another street paved with pebbles and gypsum blocks followed the bottom line of the eastern wall of the citadel on the lower town side (Mallowan 1966: 76). A second major gateway into the citadel possibly existed in the middle of the south wall, where gully erosion is evident in the topographic maps between the “Southwest palace” and the “Burnt palace.”²⁷ If this were the case, the two major streets (running through the East and South gates of the citadel) would meet somewhere around the “Central Building” area, precisely where a series of the commemorative “obelisk” monuments were excavated around a large open space (Reade 1980a: 2).

Ar-nsir-apli's acclaimed Northwest Palace was built on a consolidated mudbrick platform to the northwestern edge of the citadel and overlooking the ancient bed of the Tigris (Figure 34).²⁸ The palace platform was supported by a massive "quay wall" on the western embankment, built of large carefully dressed ashlar blocks of limestone (Figure 39), an exceptional construction work compared to the rest of the fortifications of the city, which were exclusively built of mudbrick.²⁹ In the overall architectural layout, the Northwest Palace features a spatial and architectonic complexity that was unparalleled by its second millennium predecessors in Mari, Aur, and Kr-Tukult-Ninurta.³⁰ The architectonic aspects and the sculptural program of the palace are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 in which it is argued that the entire complex was fashioned into a spatial, pictorial, and textual narrative that both commemorated the territorial expansion of the empire and served for the ceremonies that maintained the prosperity of the state.

The organization of the palace complex into *babnu* and *btanu* courtyards³¹ and their separation with the location of a monumentalized throne room appears, with our current state of archaeological knowledge, to have been crystallized in the Northwest Palace's planning, although earlier examples existed in Aur. The spacious public courtyard (*babnu*) was located to the northern end of the complex and housed large-scale state ceremonies involving the king's reception of foreign dignitaries and local officials. The north façade of Throne Room B was conspicuous and decorated with human headed bull and lion colossi and winged genies at the gates. The lower half of the façade was lined with orthostats with a relief program illustrating processions of foreigners bearing precious goods and exotic creatures (Meuszyski 1979). The full-sized figures of the tribute bearing foreigners and accompanying palace officials converge in processions from east and west toward the center of the façade, where the king would be positioned in ceremonies and receptions (Russell 1998: 713). The alcove of the Banquet Stele opened directly onto this ceremonial space. The visual program of the main public façade of the palace articulated a spectacle of the state in which the Assyrian king is portrayed as the receiver of tribute and exotic paraphernalia from foreign lands.³² The central sector of the palace arranged around the *btanu* courtyard to the south of Throne Room B had a more esoteric ritual function associated with kingship, given the solemn and ritual character of the relief programs there with sacred trees, antediluvian *apkallu* sages and other mythological winged beings and images of the king (Ataç 2010). The deep antiquity of these programs connects the

architecture of the palace to the Mesopotamian ancestral time before the Flood while forming a striking contrast with the immediate, politically charged, and eventful nature of narrative reliefs in the public courtyard and the Throne Room B.

One of the most significant achievements of Ar-nsir-apli's building project at Kalhu is the planning and construction of a series of cult complexes built on the northern end of Nimrud's citadel: the Ninurta temple, the Itar Kidmuru sanctuary, and the arrat-niphi sanctuary (Figure 40). The integrated design of the vast area of cult places included a series of ceremonial courtyards around which shrines were housed for other deities such as Sîn, Enlil, Adad, and Gula.³³ The cult complexes were built in close architectural, topographical, and ideological association with the king's palatial complex. A narrow street, perhaps leading to a citadel gate immediately southwest of the ziqqurat, separated the northern wall of the *babnu* courtyard and the walls of the Ninurta temple complex.³⁴ Additionally, the visual program of narrative reliefs in the Northwest Palace illustrates close affiliation with the pictorial vocabulary employed in the orthostat programs and commemorative monuments of the temple compounds. The entire northwest area of the citadel must have been coherently planned to form one whole architectural ensemble and a continuous pictorial narrative program.

The temple of Ninurta and the ziqqurat associated with it constitute the most impressive remains in the cultic complex and were located on the northwest edge of the citadel (Figure 40). The cult of Ninurta, the god of warfare, agriculture, and wisdom, had gradually gained importance as a prominent royal cult among the Middle Assyrian kings, and was regarded as the son of Aur. Perhaps because of its characterization as “the defender of the divine world order,” the cult of Ninurta was closely affiliated with the institution of kingship.³⁵ Once Ar-nsir-apli II came to power in the early ninth century BCE, he aligned his royal rhetoric with the cult of Ninurta, who was then announced to be the city-god of the newly founded Kalhu. In a recent study on Ninurta, Amar Annus (2002: 5) describes various aspects of the cult as follows:

Ninurta as the king is responsible for the correct and successful operation of several aspects in the political and natural realms. His help is needed when the cosmic order is unbalanced and, among the gods, he is the only one who is able to restore order.

The restoration can simultaneously be viewed as a “new creation,” bringing about a new era. It requires not only physical strength, but also intellectual power and therefore Ninurta is a god of wisdom, who has proverbial speed both in battle and in thinking.

The military character of Ninurta, doubled with his wisdom capable of restoring the world order and introducing a newly founded cultural prosperity remarkably matches Ar-nsir-apli's royal rhetoric and his cultural renewal program.

The temple of Ninurta, built by Ar-nsir-apli, was a monumental complex excavated immediately southeast of the remains of the ziqqurat.³⁶ It was approached through a paved courtyard and its façade was impressive (Figure 41). Two of its gateways were flanked by colossal human headed winged lions (approximately 5 m in height), which were flanked by wall slabs depicting the mythological *apkallu* in three superimposed registers. This gateway design is very comparable to the central gateway to the Throne Room B in the Northwest Palace (see especially Paley and Sobolewski 1992: figure 4.3, Entrance ED-e). In front of the *apkallu* orthostats were square-shaped pedestals that may have been used as altars or statue bases (Layard 1853a, Part II: 348). The rest of the façade was decorated with glazed bricks (Reade 2002b: 168). A giant commemorative stele of Ar-nsir-apli, “the Great Monolith,” was also found near this façade in the Ninurta court, mounted on a podium and with a stone altar located in front of it.³⁷ The Great Monolith inscription is dated to the fifth year of the king's reign (878 BCE) and it is the first commemorative inscription where he starts to report on the foundation of Kalhu.

On the orthostats and pavement slabs of the Ninurta temple cult rooms, one of the longest monumental inscriptions of Ar-nsir-apli and all of Assyrian historical record was carved. In column ii of this annalistic narrative text, a brief report of the construction of the Ninurta temple was presented:

I founded...the temple of the god Ninurta, my lord. At that time I

created through the remembrance of my heart [*hissat libbiya* = skill based on memory, wisdom] this image of the god Ninurta [ALAM DMA] which had not existed previously as a *lamassu* image of his great divinity [d₁lamma DINGIR-ti-u GAL-te] out of the best stone of the mountain and red gold. I regarded it as my great divinity in the city Kalhu. I appointed his festivals in the months *ab'û* and *Ullû*. I constructed this É.KUR all around.

(Grayson 1991: 212, text.A.0.101.1, column ii, lines 132–134)

The novel architectural character of the excavated Ninurta temple is complemented here significantly by Ar-nsir-apli's claim about his innovation of Ninurta's pictorial representation. In two door jamb orthostats at the entrance to the northern shrine (unexplored by Mallowan), a mythological scene depicts Ninurta in human form, holding a three-pronged thunder-bolt and chasing a lion-griffin, usually identified as a late form of Anzû, stealer of the Tablet of Destinies and violator of worldly order according to Sumerian mythology (Figure 42).³⁸ It may be precisely this image that the Ninurta temple inscription references as a pictorial innovation. The scene reminds us of the representations of the fight of Aur against Tiâmat, which was reportedly depicted at the gates of the Assyrian *ak tu* house,³⁹ and to this I will return later. The anthropomorphic representation of Ninurta functions as a conceptual metaphor for the image of the king, whose role was to restore order in the world. Ar-nsir-apli's co-opting of the cult of Ninurta into his royal ideology is also apparent in the representation of the king's own persona in close association with Ninurta, attested in Ar-nsir-apli's annalistic texts, in which the king and the god shared several epithets (Annus 2002: 96–97). In sum, the elevation of the cult of Ninurta as the patron deity of Kalhu was not trivial, but it was an important innovation in the king's cultural renewal program that materialized in architectural form in the foundation of Kalhu.

The cult of Ninurta was also associated with the *aktu* festival, the celebrations of which must have considerably configured the cultic landscape of Kalhu. In Mesopotamia from the mid-third millennium onward, *aktu* was an important festival that took place at the spring equinox and lasted twelve days (first to twelfth of *Nisannu*).⁴⁰ *Aktu* ceremonies in Babylon involved the ritual procession of the cult image

of Marduk to the *aktu* sanctuary outside the city walls and its ceremonial return, the reaffirmation of the sacred duties of the king, the dramatic performance of the parts of the Epic of Creation, feasting, and the reestablishment of the world order for the wellbeing of the city. An *aktu* festival was celebrated in honor of Ninurta in Nippur, where “his glorious return from victorious battles” were enacted (Annus 2002: 61–76, especially 63). The evidence is scanty about the observation of the *aktu* in Assyria prior to Sargon; however, at Aur, the *aktu* was celebrated annually at the latest from the time of Tukult-Ninurta I onward (Cohen 1993: 418; van Driel 1969: 165). Pongratz-Leisten (1994, 1997a) argues that in the early first millennium BCE, the Assyrian *aktu* ceremonies were explicitly more politicized and they were observed in the form of triumphal processions with allusions to territorial control. The triumphal *aktu* was performed in the cities of the Neo-Assyrian core, such as Aur, N nuwa, Kilizi, Arbela, and Kalhu, as well as in major frontier cities such as Harrnu, Kurbail, and Dr.⁴¹ An archive of letters was excavated in the northwest wing of the Nabu temple complex located at the southeast edge of the Kalhu citadel and dated to the reign of Aur-aheiddina (Esarhaddon) (680–669 BCE). The letters make references to the observation of the *aktu* festival in the seventh century BCE (Oates and Oates 2001: 119–123). Nabu temple, known in antiquity as *É.zi.da*, may have been built by Ar-nsir-apli II on a smaller scale, but the monumental multi-shrine complex, excavated by Mallowan's team, was extensively laid out at the time of Adad-nirri III (810–783 BCE).⁴² A commemorative stele of ami-Adad V (823–811 BCE), which had been installed in the Ninurta temple was found in the Nabû temple, suggesting a shift of cultic focus in the Assyrian religious ideology from Ninurta to Nabû in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.⁴³ In any case, there is suggestive evidence for the performance of the triumphal *aktu* in Kalhu, probably in association with Ninurta in the ninth century and Nabû in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Postgate 1974b).

Despite the fact that we lack specific textual information about the character of the festivals of Kalhu (*Ullu* and *ab'u*) dedicated to Ninurta, it is possible to suggest that the triumphal processions at the time of Ar-nsir-apli II and ulmnu-aared III amalgamated political discourse with the cults of Aur and Ninurta. The return from military expeditions with acquired booty, tribute, and captives to Assyrian cities such as Aur, Kalhu, and Nnuwa must have constituted major state spectacles.⁴⁴ The king's victorious return to the Land of Aur was portrayed as Ninurta's mythological *aktu* procession on his way back from his battles to Nippur, a mythical narrative represented in Middle

and Neo-Assyrian texts (Annus 2002: 64). The urban structure of Kalhu, its multiple cult complexes including the Ninurta temple and the commemorative monuments erected in symbolically charged spaces are shaped with such performative acts of ritual practice and military triumphs in the public sphere. In Arbela, Late Assyrian kings visited Itar's *bt aktu* sanctuary “of the steppe” in Milqia on their return from northern and eastern campaigns. Accompanied with the cult image of Itar and a pompous *erb li* procession, they entered Arbela (Pongratz-Leisten 1997a: 249–250).

In Kalhu, the building complex most directly related to triumphal processions and military parades was the *ekal marti*, or “review palace,” built at the time of ulmnu-aared III: a massive walled complex on the mound of Tull al ‘Azar in the southeastern corner of the citadel.⁴⁵ A foundation inscription in the form of a hexagonal prism of Aur-ahe-iddina (Esarhaddon), found in Nineveh's Tell Nebi Yunus mound establishes the perceived function of the *ekal marti* complex:

(Col. v; lines 40–46) In those days, the *ekal marti* which the kings that came before my fathers had had built, to put the military camp in order, and to take care of the war horses, mules, chariots, equipments of war, the booty of the enemies, the totality of all, which ^dAur, king of gods, has given to the share of my kingship, to let the horse rage, to march the chariots...

(Col. vi; lines 58–64) At the *zagsmukku* (New Year's) Festival of the first month, all the select horses, mules, camels, horse trappings, war equipment, the totality of the troops, booty of the enemies, year by year, unceasingly may I allocate therein. Those within this palace, the favorable *du*, and the favorable *lamassu*, guardian of my royal track, rejoicer of my mood; may them endure for ever and may them not block its sides.⁴⁶

As a repository of war equipment, booty, and tribute obtained during the military expeditions, *ekal marti* was apparently the final destination of all triumphal processions; and these events often took the form of specific cult festivals, such as the *aktu* or the *zagsmukku*, referenced in this text. The archaeological assemblage of the storerooms of the building complex revealed an impressive wealth of

prestige artifacts, most prominently carved ivories and metal armory. The grounds for the military parades and state ceremonies was much larger than the built limits of the palace, but included a walled and open space extending to approximately 200 m to the north and 450 m to the west sides of the complex (Oates and Oates 2001: 147–148). The complex itself was planned in four major rectilinear quadrants, organized around substantially large courtyards and housing numerous offices, workshops, and storerooms. To the south of the southeast courtyard were the monumental throne room with a towering façade and its subsidiary rooms, opening to two more spacious courtyards to the south and terraced above the citadel walls. Al Khalesi argues that the monumental tripartite unit that separates Courtyards T and S on the southern terrace functioned as *bt kisipim* and was used during the king's performances of the *kispu* ritual, related to ancestor veneration and ceremonial feasting (Al-Khalesi 1977). In sum, as distinct from the upper city monuments, *ekal marti* of ulmnu-ared III was one of the predominant urban complexes where major state spectacles took place, and it counter-balanced the monumental supremacy of the Northwest Palace within the physical structure of Kalhu's ceremonial spaces.

Obelisk and the Stele: The Ritualization of Public Space

The important urban spaces in Assyrian cities for the triumphal processions and other festive events were the city gates, public squares, and palace and temple courtyards, all of which were spatially articulated by means of monumental sculpture and commemorative monuments erected in or around them. In this final section on Kalhu, I argue that commemorative *narû* monuments (stelae, obelisks, and statues of kings), apotropaic monumental gate sculpture, and orthostat relief programs interweave ceremonial spaces in the city and make the ritualization of the public space possible through the demarcation of the public realm with continuously updated historical narratives. The cultural significance of orthostat relief programs and monumental gate sculpture are discussed in Chapter 5. The outstanding role of city gates in the functioning of urban rituals are discussed in the final section of this chapter, and are based on archaeological and textual evidence from Syro-Hittite cities. Therefore, I will limit the following discussion to these commemorative *monuments* of Late Assyrian cities.

Approximately in the middle of the upper city in Kalhu, a series of buildings and monuments, known in the scholarly literature as the

“Central Palace” and “Central Building” were excavated, although the architectural layout and the stratigraphy of the buildings remain poorly understood.⁴⁷ The Central Palace was built by Tukult-apil-earra III and extended toward the west of this area and immediately south of the domestic wings of the Northwest Palace. The earlier Central Building was originally investigated by Layard and Rassam, and re-excavated by the Polish Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology in 1974. It was dated to Ar-nsir-apli II based on the inscriptions and monumental remains including lower parts of four partially preserved lion and bull colossi and several relief orthostats with representations of *apkallu* figures battling with mythological creatures.⁴⁸ The colossus figures were installed at the central gateway of a colossal south-facing façade, and the orthostats were found in situ along the walls and door jambs of a series of rooms behind that façade. The iconography and subject matter of the orthostats and the architectural layout are analogous to the Ninurta temple, therefore the building is currently understood as one of the unidentified temples of Ar-nsir-apli's building project at Kalhu.⁴⁹ A pair of inscribed five-legged bull-*lamassu* sculptures of ulmnu-aared was also excavated in the area, but their relationship with the architectural context of the “Central Building” is not understood (Russell 1999a: 72–79).

Precisely in the same area, a series of the so-called obelisk type commemorative stelae were excavated in the nineteenth century. One is known as the “Rassam obelisk,” excavated by Hormuzd Rassam in 1853, a fragmentarily preserved black basalt monument of Ar-nsir-apli II.⁵⁰ The second and the better known monument from the same archaeological context is “Black Obelisk” discovered by Layard in 1846 (Oates and Oates 2001: 18). Third, an unfinished black basalt statue of a eunuch, also dated to Ar-nsir-apli II was found in the area (Oates and Oates 2001: 71). In front of the main façade of the building in an alcove-like space immediately east of the eastern lion *lamassu*, Meuszyski and Sobolewski found in situ a limestone pedestal, measuring 135 cm by 115 cm by 95 cm with a 30 cm deep recess on its top surface measuring 70 cm by 56 cm (Sobolewski 1977: 232). If the excavators’ interpretation of this pedestal as the base of an obelisk is correct, it is possible to assume that the Ar-nsir-apli II and ulmnu-aared III's monuments were displayed in this public space and associated with an impressive temple façade, very similar to the situation at the Ninurta temple.

Obelisks are Assyrian commemorative monuments that were erected in Assyrian cities (such as Aur, Nnuwa, and Kalhu) during the Early

and Middle Iron Ages. All of these monuments have tall and tapering proportions with carvings or inscriptions on all four of their sides. They are tall, freestanding, pillar-like stelae with tapering form, usually a rectangular cross-section and pictorial narrative scenes carved in registers on all four sides. The monuments have stepped apices, which are understood as architectural allusions to the form of the superstructures of ziqqurats, an aspect that further supports their association with cultic contexts (Pittman 1996b: 335). There are a number of earlier examples of monuments in this form from north Syria and southeast Anatolia, such as the stele of Itar from Ebla (Matthiae 1997) or the twelfth- and early-eleventh-century monuments of Malizi/Melid from Karahöyük, Izgn, and spekçür (Hawkins 2000). The inspiration for the Assyrian monuments may have come from the north and the west.

Some of the well-preserved Assyrian obelisks have long annalistic inscriptions (e.g., Black Obelisk), but almost all have shorter inscriptions that identify particular scenes. This practice is comparable to another type of public monument, which was popular at the time of Ar-nsir-apli and ulmnu-aared: bronze repoussé reliefs that fastened monumental timber gates, largely known from the city of Imgur-Enlil (Tell Balawat). In the Balawat bronze gate narratives, selected scenes of culminating ceremonial events were captioned with short epigraphic inscriptions identifying the particular event, often with the names of specific figures taking part in the scene and the location of the event. In these scenes, the king receives tribute (or his army conquers a city) and his craftsmen carve images and inscriptions on living rock in foreign landscapes. This aspect of the bronze gate reliefs and obelisk narratives suggests that they were intended for wider audiences, and are therefore considered here as public monuments.

Obelisks were found in complete and fragmentary form in various cities, such as the well-known eleventh century examples from N nuwa, “Broken Obelisk” of Aur-bl-kala (1073–1056 BCE) and “White Obelisk” of perhaps Aur-nsir-apli I (1049–1031 BCE).⁵¹ In the pictorial program of the Rassam obelisk, which is composed of seven registers and twenty-eight panels, Ar-nsir-apli II is depicted receiving tribute from processions of foreign officials. The Black Obelisk had twenty relief panels in five registers, presenting a visual account of the submission of foreign kings and their tribute bearing processions of the regional states of Gilznu, Humrî, Suhu, and Patina, all identified in the epigraphs (Grayson 1996: 62–71: texts A.0.102.87–91). The 190-line annalistic text of the monument narrates the king's year-by-year

accomplishments of the first thirty-one years of his reign. This dates the monument roughly to 828 or 827 BCE.⁵² In both obelisks, the image of the king appears in central positions in multiple panels depicted in distinct ceremonial gestures.

Similar to the obelisk monuments, round-topped stelae were also erected in cultic and palatial contexts, and they were more widespread. In her dissertation on the Neo-Assyrian monuments in the periphery, Ann Shafer (1998) showed that the *narû* monuments (rock reliefs and round-topped stelae) were erected at the city gates of frontier towns and conquered urban centers and carved at symbolically charged landscapes such as the sources of rivers and the coast of lakes. The ceremonialized setting of the Banquet Stele in the *babnu* courtyard of the Northwest Palace was discussed earlier and the archaeological evidence for the idea that the stele may have been the subject of ritual activity was presented. At the end of his fifth military campaign, which involved a successful expedition to the lands of Nairi and the Upper Tigris region, Aur-nsir-apli erected a monumental stele known as the “Great Monolith” or “Nimrud Monolith” in front of the Ninurta temple's main façade to the right of the subsidiary entrance to the temple and at the northwestern corner of the Ninurta courtyard.⁵³ A three-footed limestone altar was found in front of it, providing solid evidence for the existence of rituals that took place in association with the stele. The stele is a round-topped slab, raised on a pedestal, with the representation of the king in his *ubana tarasu* (stretching the finger) prayer gesture, accompanied by a series of divine symbols. The inscription of the monument narrates the king's first five campaigns which involved the foundation of the cities URU.Aur-nsir-apli and Tu han. The text also reports that three commemorative stelae were erected during that expedition, and two of those were placed at city foundations.⁵⁴

The round-topped stelae and obelisks were monuments that were erected by the Assyrian kings in cultic, semi-cultic, and always public contexts in the urban landscape. They commemorated accomplishments of the kings in foreign landscapes and in Assyria, while they updated and refined the ideology of the empire with renewed representations of pictorial and textual narratives. More significantly, however, they transformed the urban spaces in which they were erected – they ritualized and ceremonialized the cultic courtyards, public plazas, and gates, and therefore interweaved public spaces into a constellation of ritual places where the official narrative of the state is communicated through visual and textual media. The

making of the commemorative monuments in the Assyrian center and frontiers served to mark transformative and climactic moments in the history of the state. At every triumphal return of the king from a successful campaign and the completion of a building project, the king commemorated his accomplishments with such monuments, which introduced new versions and revised episodes of Assyrian official history to the public spaces of capital and provincial cities. The location of each of the monuments is historically and politically significant in the sense that the erection of any monument is essentially a site-specific practice. With every new monument and every new edition of the annals, histories are revised and urban spaces are gradually constructed with slightly adjusted narratives and endlessly revised stories.

These narratives need to be understood as a negotiated power discourse that speaks directly to social imaginaries. In fact, it derives its power from those social imaginaries. The validity of monuments and their political effectiveness are only possible by keeping alive the stories and mythologies of the state that are associated with them. Furthermore, monuments only sustain their political significance through cultural practices that are literally attached to them, as I illustrate in the examples of the Banquet Stele or the Great Monolith which were set up in a ritual contexts. Therefore, this narrativity of official discourse is not simply textually or visually communicated to Assyrians and foreigners, but also presented in the form of narrativized spaces and sustained social practices associated with them. With the making of commemorative monuments and the foundation of cities, I argue that the narratives were materialized into spatial form – these spaces and monuments are never finished in the sense that their power is maintained by the recurrent events and live performances that take place in them.

Narrativization of landscapes and urban spaces is a process which cannot be accomplished overnight or through a carefully calculated program by a single political agent, as it is usually assumed. What is understood here by spatial narratives is a piecemeal process of countless adjustments and reorientation of cultural discourse. Understanding spatial narratives as a gradual process also requires that we acknowledge the multiplicity of authors as agents of the discursive and architectural production of space (Potteiger and Purinton 2002:136). With a critical understanding of the distribution and configuration of monuments in public spaces, spatial narratives

allow us to reflect on the relationship between political discourse and landscape, between colonial power and the making of place, between state monuments and collective memory. In the following section, I present another example of the narrativization of space, this time in the Syro-Hittite city of Karkami.

“These Gates I Orthostated”: Monuments, Memory and the Making of Ceremonial Space at Karkami

Urbanization among the Syro-Hittite states was broadly discussed in the previous chapters. Syro-Hittite states emerged during the Early Iron Age (ca. 1150–850 BCE) with new ideological affiliations and socioeconomic framework (Melchert 2003; Mazzone 2000b). The archaeological and epigraphic evidence from north Syria and southeast Anatolia suggest that the construction of new citadels and towns was a shared practice among these regional states, even though they are geographically and ethno-linguistically diverse, stretching from the central Anatolian highlands to the Levantine coast and to northern and northeastern Syria, and housing Luwian-, Aramaic-, and Phoenician-speaking cultural groups (Figures 1 and 3). Building cities and cultivating barren landscapes is a popular topic in the commemorative monuments in Syro-Hittite cities and formed an essential component of the official state discourse. This process of urbanization and development of agricultural landscapes was contemporaneous with the late Middle Assyrian and early Late Assyrian urbanization in the Middle and Upper Tigris regions and the Jazira. Oftentimes, these two interlinked settlement processes physically overlapped or politically contested with each other, considering for example the Assyrian refoundation of Syro-Hittite capitals, such as Til Barsip/Masuwari at the site of Tell Ahmar (Bunnens 1997c).

Syro-Hittite urbanization is illustrated in Chapter 3 with the case of Malizi/Melid, a regional state that was established in the intermontane Malatya basin on the Upper Euphrates in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE. Malizi expanded by means of urbanization into the Tohma Su and Kuruçay valleys and the Elbistan plain (Harmanah 2011a). The urban construction projects in the Syro-Hittite cities produced a distinct and regionally specific architectural tradition that blended Bronze Age north Syrian and imperial Hittite practices of monumental construction.⁵⁵ For an architectural study of early Syro-Hittite urban spaces, the best archaeological evidence comes from the site of Karkami, the capital city of a regional state that

had a pivotal role in the region from the Middle Bronze Age well into the Iron Age. This final section of [Chapter 4](#) will discuss the building operations of Early Iron Age rulers of Karkami, the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty, and their cultural renewal program, which is comparable to Aur-nsir-apli II's activities at Kalhu. Like Kalhu, there is a remarkable blending of ritual practices and politically charged events in the public space at Karkami and many other Syro-Hittite cities. The spatial character of the urban space is then constituted by urban ceremonial events that brought together the king, the dynastic family, the army, state officials, citizens, gods of the city, and ancestors all at the same time.

The question of social memory has been raised in the recent research on Syro-Hittite states and their architecture and material culture (see, for example, Bonatz [2001a](#); Özyar [1998a](#); Mazzoni [1997b](#)). This is perhaps partly because of the building practices and iconographic repertoire inherited from local and interregional contexts of the Late Bronze Age, elaborate ritual practices concerning ancestor worship and the extensive use of architectural *spolia* in Syro-Hittite architecture, especially in the earlier centuries of the Early Iron Age. These were various material practices that the Syro-Hittite communities used to link themselves to their past. This character of Syro-Hittite material culture as a hybrid of the past and the present can be linked to the role of social memory which influenced the Syro-Hittite concepts of kingship and cultural identity. The practice of erecting monuments, such as stelae and rock reliefs inscribed in hieroglyphic Luwian, was inherited from the Late Hittite Empire, although the content of these inscriptions have significantly changed. The architectural practice of using orthostats in monumental building walls and carving them with relief representations was continued from north Syrian practices of the Late Bronze Age. However, these orthostat surfaces offered much more complex pictorial narrative programs enveloping urban, palatial, and sacred spaces. A new iconographic repertoire and a new textual rhetoric were also introduced through the pictorial and literary narratives on the orthostats and other commemorative monuments (Mazzoni [2000b](#): 1048).

Throughout the tenth and early ninth centuries BCE, a new wave of urban foundations and large-scale building activities are attested in north Syrian and southeast Anatolian cities in the archaeological and epigraphic record. In Mazzoni's chronology of the Iron Age (Mazzoni [2000b](#)), this period of ambitious urban projects in the Syro-Hittite

sphere corresponds to Iron Age 1C during which novel architectural forms were introduced to the urban landscapes and in monumental scale. An outstanding aspect of these projects was the construction of ceremonial urban ensembles that contained temples, palaces, monumental gates, and massive compound walls. These ensembles appear as central features in the configuration of the Iron Age urban landscapes. Several of these public spaces were surrounded with carved and inscribed orthostat programs and delimited by commemorative monuments such as stelae and statues of gods and ancestors. The orthostat programs were particularly placed in citadel gates as well as in front of the famous columnar façades of palaces and temples. The columnar entrances to temples and palaces is an architectural innovation of the Syro-Hittite architecture and are usually identified as the so-called *bt hilni*, which is known from the Assyrian royal inscriptions referenced as a distinctive architectural feature of Syro-Hittite cities and borrowed by Assyrians as an exotic cultural element (Winter 1982). In several new cities of the Early Iron Age, cultic-palatial complexes with columnar *bt-hilni* façades decorated with monumental sculpture and orthostat programs were constructed around spacious courtyards.

In the regional state of Masuwari (later Til Barsip/Kr ulmnu-aardu), centered at Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates, the Luwian-speaking “Country-Lords” (Hapatilas-Hamiyatas dynasty) erected a series of monumental stelae and portal lions, commemorating their accomplishments, which include foundations of cities and large-scale building projects.⁵⁶ Two colossal stelae with hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, known from the site, were dedicated to the “celestial Tarhunzas” Storm God.⁵⁷ One was erected by the late-tenth-century Masuwarean king Hamiyatas.⁵⁸ On the other colossal four-sided stele, the ruler (son of Ariyahinas), whose name was not preserved, alludes to his constructions in Masuwari:

[and...] the city [Mas]uwari, up to the sky I [rais]ed forth its head⁵⁹

Unfortunately, little is known about the Early Iron Age levels at Tell Ahmar, except for North East gate, which was decorated with

monumental basalt lions in the Syro-Hittite tradition.⁶⁰ In Hama, in the south end of the citadel, Danish archaeologists excavated a gate complex, through which a monumental staircase led into a wide open court that was surrounded by palatial buildings on the citadel.⁶¹ The gate structure is remarkably similar to the gate with the Great Staircase in Karkami (see discussion later in this section). The early- to mid-ninth-century kings of Hama, Urhilina and his son Uratamis similarly commemorate the foundation of cities in a series of monumental hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions on stelae and orthostat blocks.⁶² In Zincirli, a site located at the eastern foot of a major mountain pass through the Amanus mountains, the Aramaean and Luwian rulers commissioned an impressive fortified citadel, including a series of monumental gates (*Älteres Burgtor*, *Thor in der Quermauer*) successively leading to a monumental palace complex (*Unterer Palast*) to the northwest of the citadel (Figure 32).⁶³ At least the Outer Citadel gate is dated to tenth or early ninth century BCE (Naumann 1971). In the early to mid- ninth century BCE at Tell Ta'yinat (Kunulua) in the Amuq valley, a massive complex was constructed with *bt hilni* façades organized around a large paved courtyard on the West Central area of the citadel.⁶⁴ Tell Halaf also had a similarly massive urban project at this time, as discussed in Chapter 3. These multiple urban projects that are roughly contemporaneous and remarkably parallel in their architectural vocabulary represent a shared cultural network that flourished in the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.

Among these building activities, the urban renewal program carried out by the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty at Karkami stands out, based on the amount of available archaeological evidence and the wealth of epigraphic material that comes from the site and the complexity of building operations. Chapter 3 discusses the significance of Karkami in the long-term regional history of north Syria. Especially from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000 BCE) to the end of the Middle Iron Age (ca. 700 BCE), Karkami was a major urban center built at one of the most important crossings on the Euphrates. As a prominent trade entrepôt and craft production center, Karkami became the center of imperial Hittite power in north Syria during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE. Following the collapse of the Hittite Empire, the city became the capital of a powerful regional state in the Early Iron Age.

Table 4 lists the major commemorative inscriptions of the kings of Karkami in the Early Iron Age and links them to specific architectural contexts in the city. Among these inscriptions, J. David Hawkins

identified two dynastic groups of monuments, “the Archaic group” and “the House of Suhis” (Hawkins 2000 I: 76–78). The former includes a line of Karkamiean kings who identified themselves as “Great King, Hero” and erected various stelae and inscribed gate lions. The second group belongs to a better reconstructed dynasty of four kings who are associated with an overwhelming majority of inscribed monuments found at Karkami. The kings Suhis (I), Astuwatamanzas, Suhis (II), and Katuwas adopted a new royal title similar to the Early Iron Age rulers of Malizi, and consistently referred to themselves as the Karkamiean Country-Lords. The chronological framework of the dynasty stretches roughly from early tenth century to the early ninth century BCE (Hawkins 2000 I: 77–78). I argue in the following discussion that a major set of building operations were undertaken in the public sphere at Karkami during the reign of the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty, and particularly at the time of the ruler Katuwas.

Table 4. Rulers of the Early Iron Age at Karkami and their commemorative monuments.

Rulers and their epithets	Monuments/descriptions			
	Monument (reference no. in Karkami city-plan)	Description	Inscription No. in Hawkins 2000	Date
Ura-Tarhuzas, Great King, Hero, King of the Land of Karkamis	Ura-Tarhuzas 1	Basalt Stele set up by the priest of Kubaia commemorating the Great King Ura-Tarhuzas.	KARKAMIS A36	
Tudhaliyas, Hero, King of the Land of Karkamis. (contemporary of Suhis II who marries his daughter with Tudhaliyas)	Tudhaliyas 1	Stele or obelisk fragment.	KARKAMIS A137	Early tenth century BCE?
Suhis-Katuwas Dynasty at Karkamis				
Suhis I, the ruler				Early tenth century BCE?
Astuwatamanzas, the ruler, the Karkamiean Country-Lord	Astuwatamanzas 1	Basalt Lion fragment with inscription commemorating construction of monumental “gates” with “orthostats.”	KARKAMIS A138 and A139	Early tenth century BCE
Suhis I, the ruler, the Karkamiean Country-Lord	Suhis 1	Large wall orthostat in the “Long Wall of Sculptures” with guilloché pattern frieze at the bottom and inscription commemorating military victories, a construction for the assembly of the gods, statues of the gods, and statue of the king himself.	KARKAMIS A14	tenth century BCE.
	Suhis 2	Wall orthostat with seated female figure facing right, and frontal nude goddess to the right. Dedicated by SUHIS-its, wife of Suhis.	KARKAMIS A15	
		Stele commemorating the marriage of Suhis’s daughter with the king Tudhaliyas.	8183511	

Karkamis, the Ruler, the Karkamish Country-Lord	Karkamis 1	Portal orthostat in the form of a seated door-jamb from the King's Gate at south end of "Processional Entry" commemorating the construction of the Temple of the Storm God, monumental gates, their upper stories, and the erection of the seated Atrahasis statue at the gate.	KARKAMIS 11a	Late tenth to early ninth centuries BCE.
	Karkamis 2	Seated statue of god Atrahasis on double-limbed base.	KARKAMIS A4b	
	Karkamis 3	Pair of portal orthostats in the form of seated door-jambos, sculpted as a threshold in King's Gate. Inscription commemorates construction of cities in the territory of Karkamis, conquest of the city Kawa, construction of Atrahasis-monuments, organization of Karkamis and Kubbis's processions, installation of their statues and sacrifices.	KARKAMIS A11b+c	
	Karkamis 4	Pair of portal orthostats in the form of door-jambos, right and left sides, at the portal of the Storm God temple. Inscriptions commemorate the construction of the temple, assignment of craftsmen of other cities to the temples.	KARKAMIS A2+c	
	Karkamis 5	Basalt stone fragment, excavated in front of the great Lion slab at the foot of the Staircase. Commemorates military accomplishments against the city of Awayana, with the divine favor of Tarhunas, Karkunas, and Kubbis.	KARKAMIS A1D	
	Karkamis 6	Orthostat slab from the northern end of the east side of the King's gate. Representation of the queen introductory figure. Dedication to the gods Tarhunas, Karkunas and Kubbis.	KARKAMIS A13d	
	Karkamis 7	Portal orthostat fragments. Upper fragments of a related door-jamb. Found beside the Great Staircase. Commemorates the construction of buildings (temple?) in honor of Kubbis of the Podium, Queen of Karkamis, using orthostats.	KARKAMIS A23, A26a1-2, A25a1, A26a2	
	Karkamis 8	Inscription fragments from the Lower Palace area. Commemorates military accomplishments and the raising of the King's statue.	KARKAMIS A25a	

Karkami was built on the west bank of the Euphrates at the northern end of the wide and fertile river basin (Figure 43).⁶⁵ The high and elongated citadel mound overlooks the river, while the fortified upper ("inner") town and the lower ("outer") town stretch successively toward the southwest of the citadel. Unlike other major Syro-Hittite sites mentioned earlier, we know next to nothing about the Early Iron Age buildings on top of the citadel. The British Museum excavators were frustrated with the complex stratigraphy of the mound.⁶⁶ Woolley excavated a monumental structure located near the northwest end of the citadel, featuring a series of finely carved plain basalt orthostats on its façades, but neither the date nor the function can be ascertained from the documented remains.⁶⁷ When compared with the urban morphology of Zincirli, where the topography of the citadel is not uniform and the large *bt-hilni* complex is actually located on a slightly lower platform to the west of the peak of the mound, it is quite possible that the Early Iron Age palatial-cultic complex of Karkami would be located on the lower terrace immediately to the west of the citadel and to the north and northeast of the Citadel Gate, an area unexplored by the British archaeologists.

Apart from limited trenches in the Lower Town and uncovering the major gateways of the Upper and Lower Town fortifications, the excavations in Karkami largely concentrated in spatially coherent area immediately south of the citadel mound (Figure 44).⁶⁸ Stretching from the "Water Gate" at the southern foot of the citadel by the bank of the Euphrates to the "King's Gate" in the approximate center of the Upper

Town, an impressive urban ensemble accommodates a series of monumental structures and an articulate public space that connects various urban components of the city. The core of this urban ensemble is a roughly triangular public plaza defined by monumental terrace walls and occupies a critical middle terrace in the topography of Karkami connecting the citadel mound to the rest of the Upper City, as well as linking the embankments by the river to the Upper City and the citadel at the same time. What is more significant is that the entire complex was surrounded with basalt and limestone orthostats with relief representations of cultic, mythological, and historical subject matter. In addition, this busy urban sector is filled with monumental inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian, apotropaic gate sculpture, ancestor statues, and other commemorative monuments. In this way, the urban complex was articulately transformed into a dramatic ceremonial space, where major cultic activities of the city were focused; and precisely in the same spatial realm, political and historical narratives of the imperial elite were communicated with the society. I argue that during the reign of the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty in the tenth and early ninth centuries BCE, the Karkamiean public space was progressively constructed as “a spatial narrative” inscribed in the urban landscape through a performative intermingling of ritual practices and state spectacles.

The Water Gate to the east end of the complex is identified as the earliest monumental feature in the ensemble and associated with a second millennium cobbled pavement that was rebuilt in the Early Iron Age (Figure 45).⁶⁹ The gate opened directly to the embanked docks along the Euphrates and linked the embankment to the urban core. It was raised approximately 3 m above the embankments, so that the gate must have towered over the waterfront (Gilibert 2011: 25). It is a two-chambered gateway with a double set of towers rising over the passageway on either way. This architectural design must belong to the second millennium BCE. The inclined passageway of the gatehouse was controlled by three sets of projecting shallow buttresses which were lined with carved and uncarved limestone orthostats, while entrance to the gate was probably flanked by basalt portal lions.⁷⁰ The gate orthostats found in situ feature winged lions (B28b, B29a), a guardian bull man (B31a), and a confrontation of a bull and a lion (B29a). A few complex narrative scenes were incorporated at the prominent faces of the jambs, such as a banquet scene (B30b) and the scene of libation and sacrificial offerings to the Storm God who is depicted stepping onto his bull-chariot (B30a). Better preserved examples of orthostats with the similar scene are known from the city gate at Arslantepe, Malatya/Malizi, where the Storm God receives

libation from the Country-Lord of Malizi.⁷¹ Both at the Water Gate in Karkami and the Lion Gate in Malizi, mythological narratives are interwoven with dynastic narratives, and this integrates the gates into the ceremonial spaces of both cultic and political significance.

The street that linked the Water Gate to the uphill area of the central triangular public square had a paved surface of “very hard, fine gravel set in mud, about 0.25 m thick” and its construction is associated with the construction of the monuments that surround it (Woolley 1952: 176). The best preserved cluster of structures was to the northwest of the square. A monumental staircase, referenced as the “Great Staircase” in Karkami publications, lead northeastward toward the citadel, similar to the citadel gate at Hama, and contained within a gate-chamber halfway on its course up the slope (Woolley 1952: 157–164). Several monumental inscriptions of the ruler Katuwas were excavated in the area of the Great Staircase, some in situ and some out of context. Significant are the rebated door jamb orthostats (A23, A20a1 and A20a2) of the left- and right-hand sides at the upper (northern) buttress of the Gate-house.⁷² The continuous Luwian inscription on these two door jambs commemorates the construction of a multiplicity of buildings in honor of Kubaba, Queen of Karkami, and mentions in the inscriptions the use of orthostats (*kuta-sa₅-ra*).⁷³ The content of this inscription is discussed extensively in Chapter 6, which discusses orthostats as a prestigious architectural technology. A series of large inscribed fragments of two symmetrical portal lions were excavated somewhere between the Great Staircase and the Water Gate (context not recorded); and in his drawings, Woolley reconstructed the two lions on either side of the lower (southern) buttress of the Gate-house, overlooking the square.⁷⁴ The lion inscriptions belong to Astuwatamanzas, the second king of the dynasty, and commemorate the construction of gates:

I (am) Astuwatamanzas...Karkamiean Country-Lord, the ruler
Suhis's son.

These gates [...I made/built]...

...from these ortho]stats [(he) who] shall erase my name,
against him may Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate!⁷⁵

The western limit of the square was defined by a spectacular orthostat façade – the “Long Wall of Sculpture,” which abuts the western flank of the Great Staircase and the Gate-house (Figures 46–48).⁷⁶ The Long Wall is faced with limestone and basalt orthostats of

around 2 m in height and raised on three courses of ashlar masonry. The orthostat faces were carved with representations of military and cultic processions, and commemorative inscriptions of Suhis II and his wife BONUS-tis. The southern sector of the program features processions of foot soldiers and processions of war chariots, all of which are depicted trampling enemy figures as they move along (Figure 47). The infantry and the chariot processions are divided by a large limestone slab that features a lengthy inscription of Suhis II, presenting an annalistic narrative account of the king's military achievements in the first half of the inscription and his making of a number of cultic and commemorative monuments in the second half:

When I came forth
I myself made this *assemblage* of the gods,
and this potent Tarhunzas, I made stand,
and with him I made these gods stand.
And for myself my statue I...⁷⁷

On the northern sector of the Long Wall, exactly where it meets the retaining walls flanking the staircase, the subject matter of the pictorial representations abruptly switches to a cultic procession, but connects the southern sector by means of an inscription and a seated figure of BONUS-tis, wife of Suhis II. BONUS-tis is then led by a solemn procession of the five gods of Karkami including Kubaba, probably Karhuhas and certainly the Storm-God Tarhunzas, who all climb the monumental steps of the Great Staircase.⁷⁸ In the pictorial narrative program of the Long Wall of Sculpture, one finds precisely what Suhis II narrates in his inscription: the commemoration of military achievements and the *assembly* of the Karkamiean divinities.⁷⁹ Once again, the historical narrative of the Karkamiean rulers are introduced to the public realm in an exceptionally ceremonialized fashion with the incorporation of the Karkamiean pantheon who is literally joined in the pictorial narrative by the military force of the king, the king himself, and his wife.

The temple complex of the Storm God Tarhunzas is located behind the Long Wall of Sculpture and on a raised platform. The temple compound was accessed through a door halfway up the Great Staircase, immediately after the orthostat slab that depicts the Storm God himself, leading the procession. In fact, the five divinities of the Karkamiean pantheon on the Long Wall should be understood as ascending toward the cult complex (Mazzoni 1997b: 324). The temple

itself was raised to the northwestern corner of the courtyard that was finely paved with a pebble mosaics (Woolley 1952: 167f.). The inner and outer wall surfaces of the single-room shrine were lined with very finely plain orthostats carved in limestone. The square-shaped shrine was entered through a recessed doorway that was flanked by basalt orthostat door jambs bearing the building inscriptions of Katuwas, commemorating the construction of the Temple of the Storm God.⁸⁰ A large basalt double bull base, set on a finely dressed limestone podium was found in the middle of the courtyard, facing the façade of the temple and probably holding a colossal ruler or god statue (Woolley 1952: 168). The complex of urban structures including the Great Staircase, the Long Wall of Sculpture and the Temple of the Storm God, thus can be reasonably understood as primarily a project started by Astuwatamanzas (Gate lions) and Suhis II (Long Wall), and largely completed by Katuwas (Gate-house, Temple of the Storm God).⁸¹

The southwestern edge of the public square was delimited by the “Herald’s Wall,” lined with alternating basalt and limestone orthostats. The visual program of the wall references mythological stories and narrative scenes where supernatural beings take part with archaizing pictorial allusions to traditional Mesopotamian myths.⁸² To the southwest of the triangular public square and the Storm God temple, yet another monumental gate complex was constructed, the “King’s Gate,” which connected this middle terrace with the lower part of the Upper Town and eventually the Lower Town (Figure 49).⁸³ The quadrangular area in front of the gate was labeled as the “Processional Entry” by the excavators because of the subject matter of the orthostat reliefs on the eastern façade of the area. This wall is interrupted by a recessed gateway with a staircase, leading into a raised building complex behind this façade, probably the area of the “Hilani.” The alternating basalt and limestone relief program to the south of this gateway represents an intriguing festival procession led by a seated figure of a goddess. This figure is usually identified as Kubaba, the Queen of Karkami, because she sits on a lion and holds a pomegranate and a mirror (Figure 50).⁸⁴ She is followed by a solemn procession of fifteen priestesses, draped in a similar way as the goddess and carrying sacred paraphernalia and offerings. They are followed by ten male figures carrying sacrificial animals.

The northern flank of the recessed stairway was defined by a buttress like architectural element that further monumentalized this entryway and the excavation reports labeled this structure as the “Royal Buttress” (Woolley 1952: 192). The festive articulation of the

public space is further reinforced by the depiction of musicians on two orthostats facing the stairway recess, suggesting that the destination of the procession was intended for the area behind the stairway. Two door-jamb inscriptions of Katuwas that were reused as pavement slabs in the King's Gate make an interesting reference to such a sacred procession:

I myself beheld my lord Karhuhas's and Kubaba's procession

I myself seated them on this podium...⁸⁵

Hawkins (1980a: 441) suggested that these spoliated slabs may have originally been installed at the doorway on top of the stairway between the Processional Entry and the Royal Buttress programs. Based on all these references and compared to the architectural layout of the entrance to the Storm God complex, it seems probable that the building complex behind the recessed stairway was indeed the Temple of Kubaba. From the architectural orientation of the buildings in this area, it is possible to suggest that the monumental "Hilani" building, which is raised on a platform immediately to the southeast of the triangular public square, must have been the Temple of Kubaba.⁸⁶ Because the building was preserved only on the foundation level, no identification was offered by the excavators. It is an impressive square-shaped structure with a single room and an in antis porch, surrounded with finely carved, plain orthostats, and paved with stone slabs. With its architectural plan and construction technology, it immediately reminds us the main shrine of the Temple of the Storm God and suggests that it must be interpreted as a temple as well.⁸⁷

Returning to the King's Gate, an impressive feature of the Gate's main façade was a colossal basalt statue of an ancestor cult, Atrisuhas, identified by its brief inscription (B 25). The inscription establishes the annual offerings of bread, ox, and sheep for the cult. The monument was found in situ immediately to the west of the gateway (Woolley 1952: 199). This is an imposing seated statue of a bearded ancestor wearing a horned helmet and long robe and holding a mace and an axe. The statue was raised on a large basalt pedestal of double lions with a relief representation of a kneeling griffin-headed figure between the lions on the front face. Hawkins (2000 I: 101) translates the name of the ancestor god Atrisuhas as "the image, soul of Suhis," suggesting that it was dedicated to the deified king Suhis, Katuwas's father or great grandfather. Several ancestor statues are known from the Syro-Hittite cities, especially from Tell Halaf and Zincirli with

close parallels in their urban context, overall form and iconographic features.

The gate-house itself was built by Katuwas and commemorated with the seven-line inscription on the rebated basalt door jambs of the gate-house⁸⁸:

...

4.11 *mu-pa-wa/i-‘pi-na’*LINGERE-*sa-ti* *kar-ka-mi-si-za*(URBS)
(DEUS)TONITRUS-*tī* DEUS.DOMUS-*tà* PUGNUS-*ru-ha*

**But I myself then constructed (?) the temple(s) with luxury
for Karkamiean Tarhunzas**

4.12 *wa/i-tú-ta-‘* PANIS(-)*ara/i-si-na* PONERE-*wa/i-ha*

for him I established ARASI-bread.

4.13 |*za-ia-ha-wa/i* “PORTA”-*la/i/u-na á-ma* |AVUS-*ti-ia mu-*|PRAE-*na*
CRUS.CRUS-*ta*

And these gates (of) my grand-fathers passed down to me

4.14 *a-wa/i* PURUS-MI-*ia* DEUS.DOMUS-*sa(?)* *ku-ma-na* AEDIFICARE + MI-*ha*

When I built the holies of the temple (OR: the Holy (one)'s temple)

4.15 *wa/i-mu-tà-‘* | *za-zi* (SCALPRUM) *ku-ta-sa₅* + *ra/i-zi* | POST-*ní* 5.15 |
PES-*wa/i-ta*

these orthostats “came after” me,

4.16 *a-wa/i za-ia* “PORTA”-*na* | SCALPRUM-*sa₅* + *ra/i-ha*

these gates I “orthostated”

4.17 *wa/i-tà-‘* | FRONS-*la/i/u* ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia sa-tá-’*

they were foremost in(?) cost(?) (very costly?)

I built them (also) with wood

4.19|*za-zi-pa-wa/i* (DOMUS)*ha* + *ra/i-sà-tá-ni-zi a-na-ia* BONUS-*sa-mi-i*
FEMINA-*tí-i* DOMUS + SCALA(-)*tá-wa/i-ni-zi i-zi-i-ha*

**and these upper floors for Anas my beloved wife as TAWANI-
apartments I made...**

(Hawkins 2000 I.1: 95–96; text II.9. KARKAMI A11a [A8])

The text refers to the gate structures as *PORTA-la-na*, transliterated by Hawkins (2000 I:86) and Singer (1975: 96f) as *hilana* and suggests the association of the hieroglyphic Luwian term with É *hílammar* of Hittite texts and *bt-hilni* of Assyrian royal inscriptions. The Hittite *hílammar* refers to a monumental gate-house associated with particular ceremonial activities, whereas Assyrian *bt-hilni* is consistently described as an exotic architectural form characteristic to Syro-Hittite cities.⁸⁹ From the time of Tukult-apil-earra III (744–727 BCE) onward, Assyrian commemorative inscriptions often described the construction of *bt hilni tamíl ekal KUR.Hatti*, translated as “a *bt hilni*, modeled after a palace of the land of Hatti.”⁹⁰ In connection to those literary accounts and the archaeological evidence from several Syro-Hittite sites, scholars associated the *hilni* house concept with the finely decorated and columnar façades of the Syro-Hittite palaces and temples, even though a one-to-one correspondence between this architectural form

and the *bt hilni* cannot be precisely established.⁹¹ However, independent of the Late Assyrian attestations, Akkadian *bt hilni* and Luwian *hilana* seems to be derivations from the imperial Hittite É.*hilammar*, literally a “gate house,” but specifically one that is associated with the KILAM (= *hilammar*) festival that takes place in an urban setting.⁹² During the festival, the Hittite king sits in a place called É.*katapuzna*- (probably “threshold,” a raised platform-like place within the gate-house) and observed a sacred procession of “animals of the gods” and the “masters of the words” while “comedians dance, clap hands and play music” (Singer 1983: 59). The main cult that is involved during the festival is indeed the Storm God. It is quite probable that this festival continued to be observed in some form in the Early Iron Age at least in cities like Karkami where the cult of the Storm God was predominant.⁹³

From this cultic context and considering the available archaeological evidence, is possible to argue that the Syro-Hittite *hilana* of the Iron Age must be understood as any kind of monumentalized façade with a raised semi-open enclosure facing a public space, and elaborately decorated with carved stone orthostats, columns, and gate sculpture. This may, of course, apply to temples, palaces, and city gates, which share the function of serving as dramatic architectural stages for the performance of ritual processions and public festivals. I propose that *bt hilni* of north Syrian architectural traditions cannot be reduced to an architectural type only, but this concept equally evoked particular architectural elements such as decorated orthostats and sculpture, a multistoried monumentality, and specific practices associated with its spaces. During the transition from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age, the semantic associations of É.*hilammar* as locus of cultic practice was transferred, while a new architectural vocabulary was developed in the newly founded flourishing Syro-Hittite cities. This new vocabulary involved extensive use of stone orthostats carved with mythopoetical, cultic, and dynastic narratives in text and image. With this definition in hand, the ceremonial social space of the Upper town Karkami's public structures all of a sudden start to make sense, as the locus of urban cult festivals and state spectacles, coherently interwoven with the use of innovative architectural forms and technologies as well as pictorial narratives.

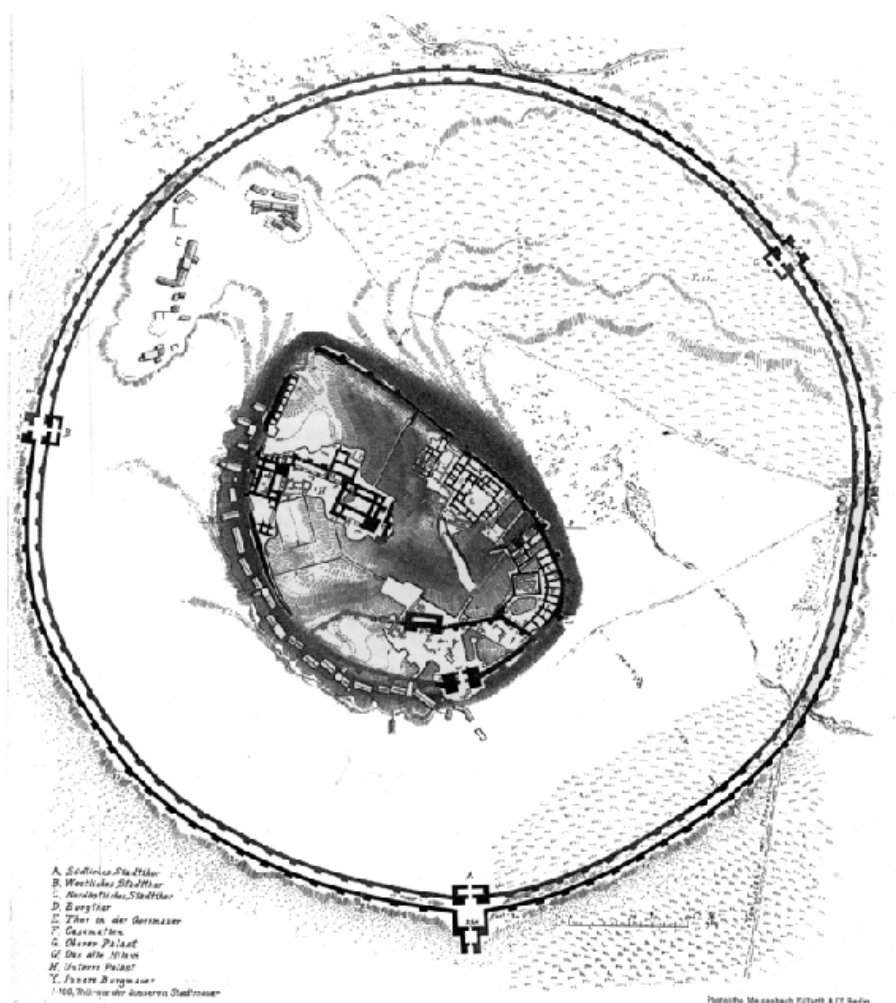
In this section, I argue that the area of the excavated public structures in Karkami was extensively the work of the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty during the tenth to early ninth century BCE. From the time of

Suhis I to Katuwas, the builders and craftsmen effectively transformed the area into a coherent urban space. Taking over the administrative power in the regional state of Karkami from an earlier dynasty (that of Ura-Tarhunzas and Tudhaliyas), the rulers of the “House of Suhis” in a way rebuilt Karkami in tenth century BCE by means of initiating a comprehensive building project in the center of the city. This renewed effort brought together ancestral forms and innovations, appropriated older structures, such as the Water Gate, while introducing for the first time a remarkable orthostat program that lined the walls of public plazas. The pictorial component of these orthostat programs acted as a medium of the negotiation of power relationships in the city, striking a delicate balance between ritual practices, representations of a mythological past, and political narratives of the state. Commemorative inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian were an integral part of the display culture in the architecture of the city, and were carved on orthostats, door jamb blocks of monumental structures (such as temples and gates), and on stelae. In the course of about a hundred years, the urban landscape of Karkami made its transition from the dilapidated and ancestral Bronze Age town to a buzzing Iron Age city with new cultural associations, architectural forms, and social practices. This does not necessarily mean that the past was erased from the face of the city. Through the use of architectural spolia in newly constructed structures or the appropriation of former monuments into new ones, a meaningful and material relationship with the past was established.⁹⁴ Spoliation was a common architectural practice at Karkami (Özyar 1998a), and it always reconfigured spaces in meaningful ways by re-incorporating the efficacious powers of the inscribed and decorated architectural pieces into new settings.

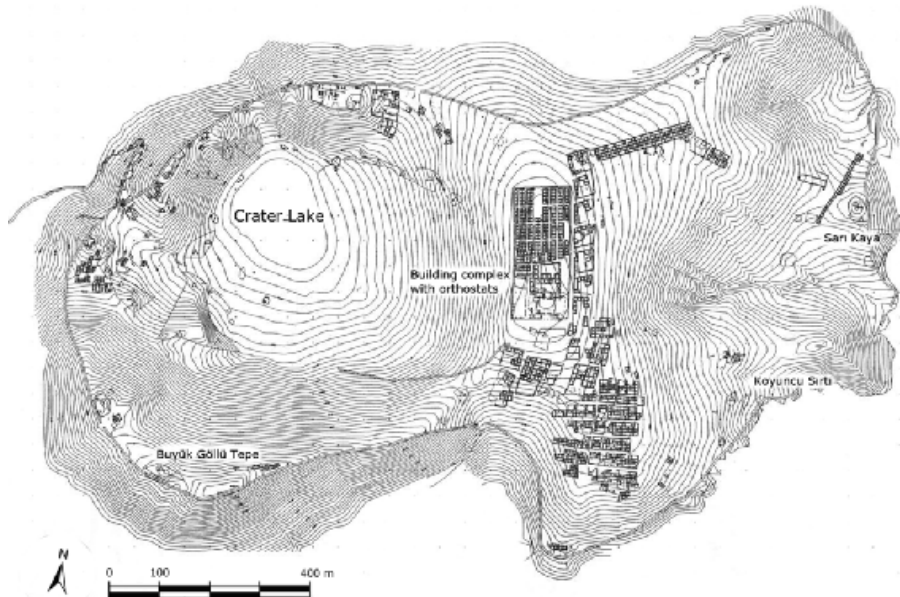
Karkami and Kalhu are important and comparable examples of Early Iron Age building projects on the urban scale. I have not been interested in correlating these cities in terms of cultural influence or exchange of technological knowledge between craftsmen of Karkami and Kalhu, as it is frequently done. Instead, I investigated them comparatively by discussing the two roughly contemporaneous urban building episodes, the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty at Karkami and the time of Aur-nasir-apli II and ulmnu-aared III at Kalhu. The organization and the making of social spaces in both cities were based on the requirements of the cult festivals and state ceremonies, which gradually endowed the urban landscapes with a dramatic topography, given the performative character of those civic festivities. Moreover, both in Kalhu and Karkami, commemorative monuments were erected at several critical moments during the history of the city, marking the

urban landscapes with dynastic commemorations, and thereby restructuring both the social time and social space in the collective memory. Through the use of commemorative monuments that bore dynastic narratives in textual and pictorial form, the entire public space was transformed into an eloquent spatial narrative. In the following chapter, I explore how various architectural technologies were used to interweave the urban landscapes during these large-scale building projects.

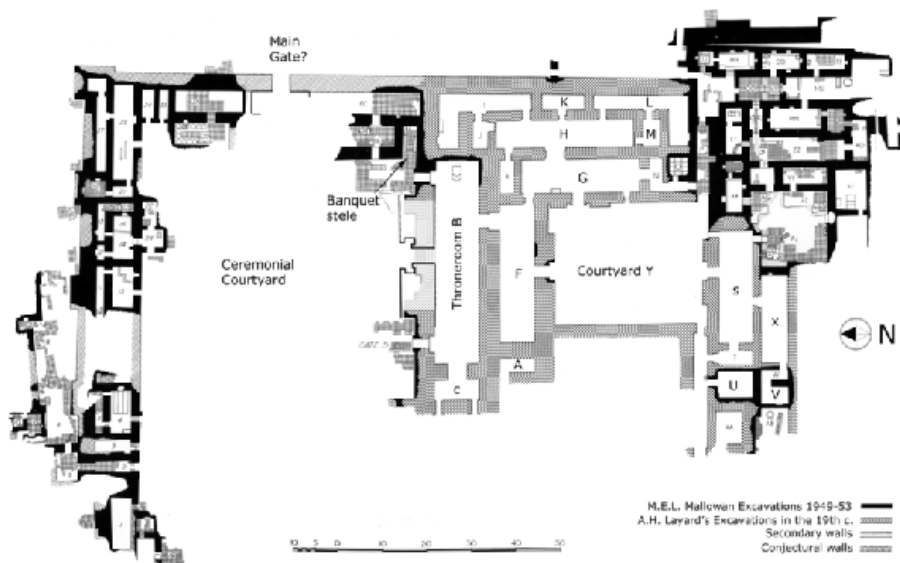
Understanding cities of the ancient Near East requires that our study of urban landscapes not limit itself to typologies of architectural form or schemes of city planning. Cities are bustling with events, cultural practices, collective representations, celebrations, parades, and the humdrum of everyday living, and they require us to engage with this dynamism. City spaces are continuously negotiated between the ideals of the political elites and the practices of its real users. Therefore, the historical, architectural, and visual record of urban spaces and the archaeological corpus of material residues must be regarded with a willingness to understand the socially produced nature of cities. In the Iron Age cities of Assyria and the Syro-Hittite states, urban construction projects involved the piece by piece introduction of commemorative monuments into the public spaces. These monuments performed the function of displaying the ideologically charged narratives of the state into sites of public gathering and ritual practice, and communicated official discourse on history, kingship, and the state. As Richard Bradley argued (1993:2–5), monuments evoke memory in a similar way that rituals do in social contexts. They also introduce a new sense of place and reorient the spatial context into which they are erected. Although their erection is an eventful occasion, they equally evoke feelings of permanence and stability, a temporal dimension that may last longer than human life. However, the significance of monuments may change quickly with new cultural practices and political changes. Taking all of these into consideration, it is possible to suggest that, despite their differences, Karkami and Kalhu present us a rich set of evidence for understanding the dynamics of founding cities, constructing urban space and making monuments, and how all such interventions are part and parcel of historically specific and locally contingent processes.



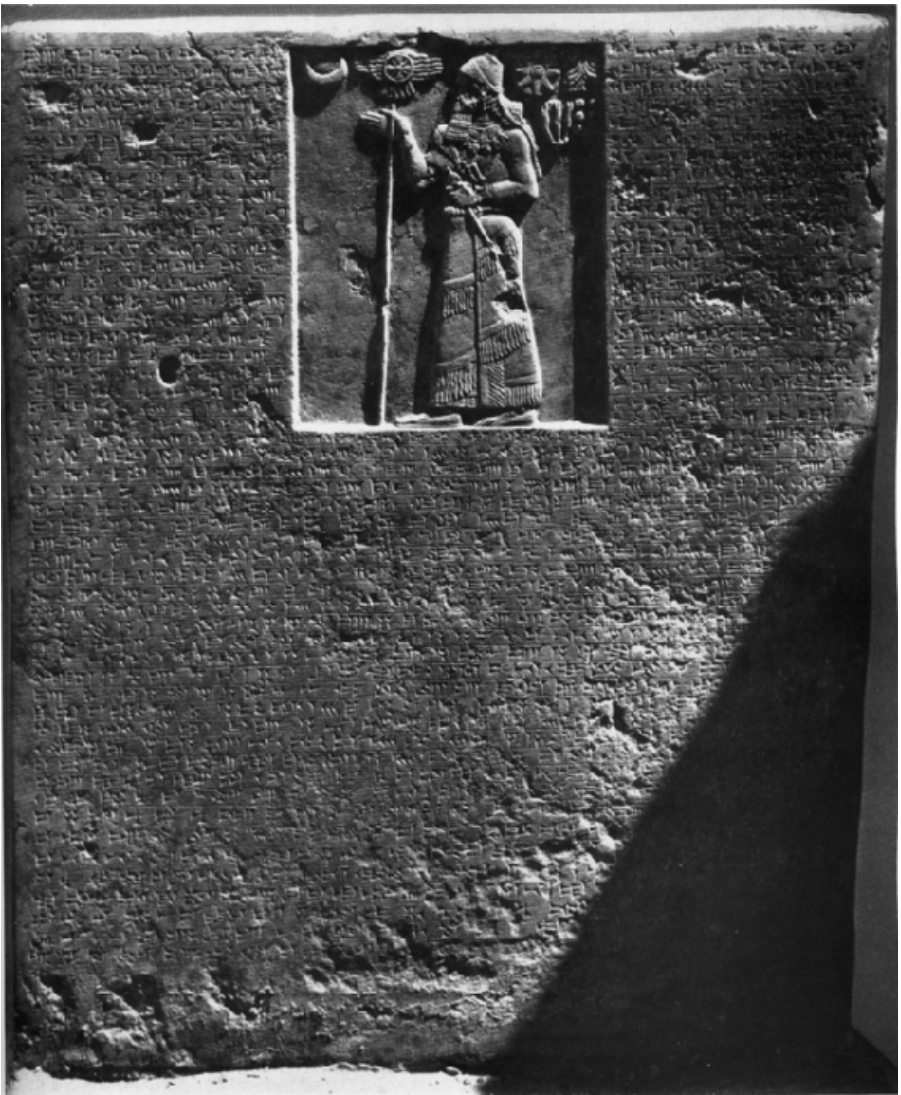
32 Zincirli. Iron Age settlement plan. (Von Luschan et al. 1898: Plate 29)



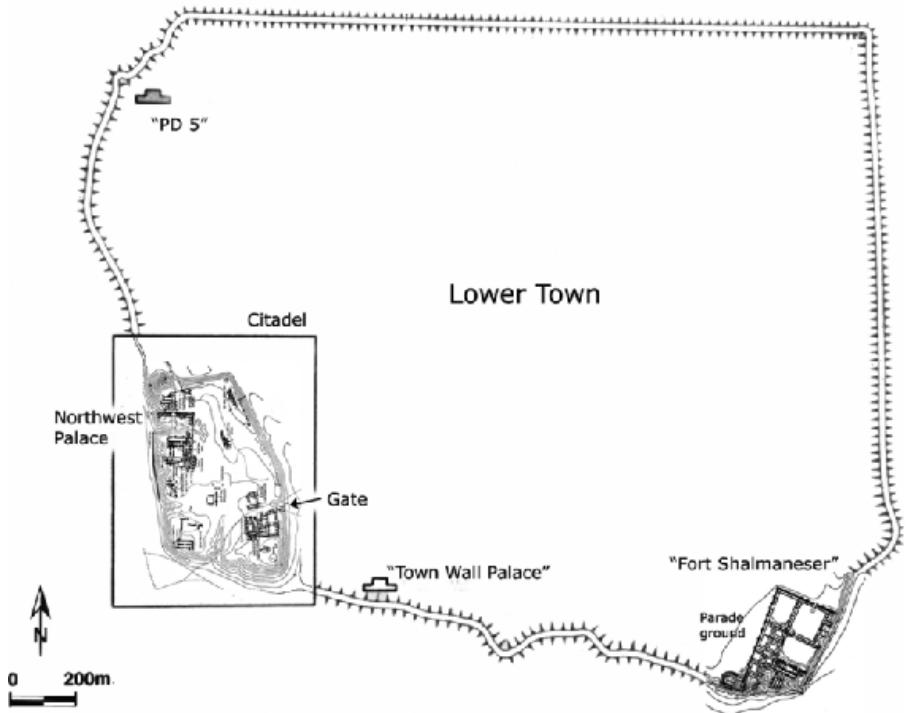
33 Göllüda. Iron Age settlement plan (Schirmer 1993: fig 3). Courtesy of Wulf Schirmer.



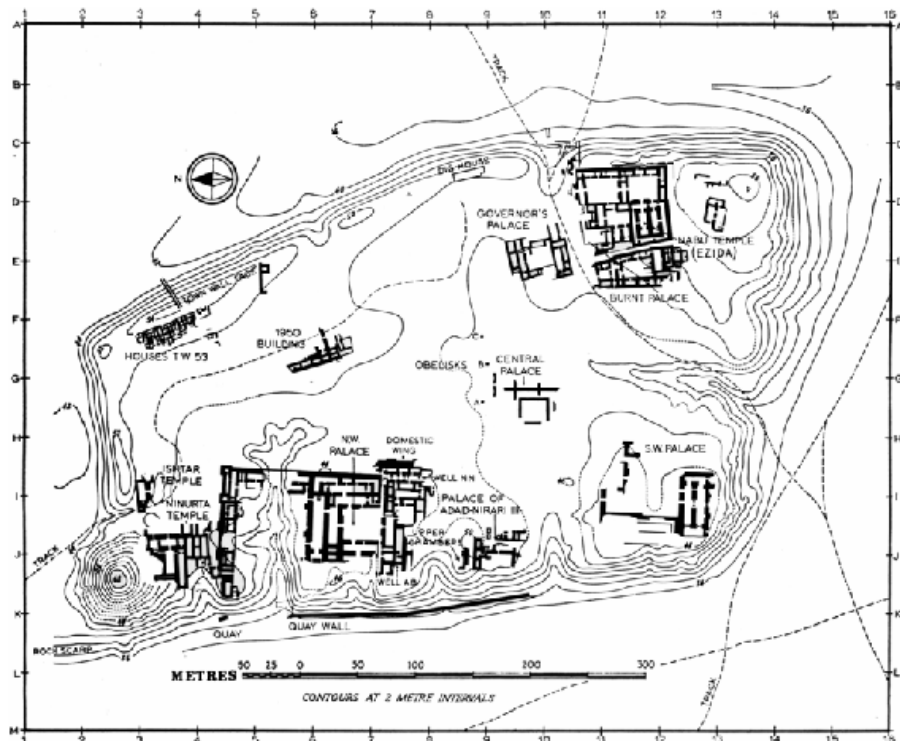
34 Kalhu (Nimrud) Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II plan (Mallowan 1966: Fig 42, in p.95). Image courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq <http://www.bisi.ac.uk>.



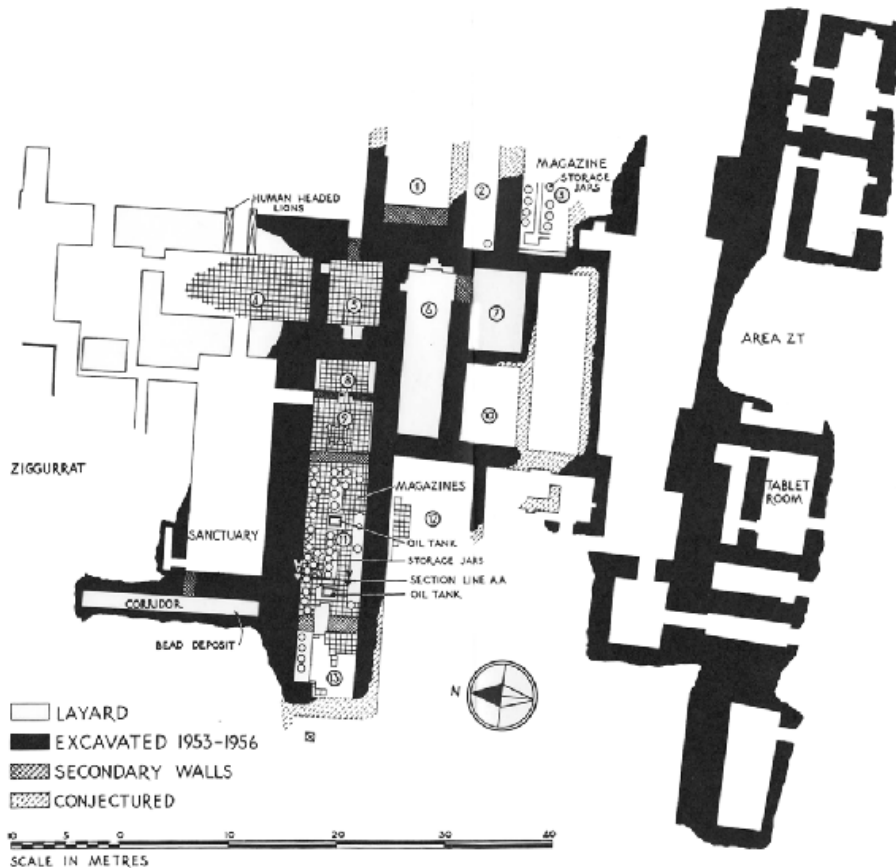
35 “Banquet Stele” from Aur-nasir-pal II's Northwest Palace, Kalhu (Nimrd). (Mallowan 1966: Fig. 27 in p.63). Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq <http://www.bisi.ac.uk>.



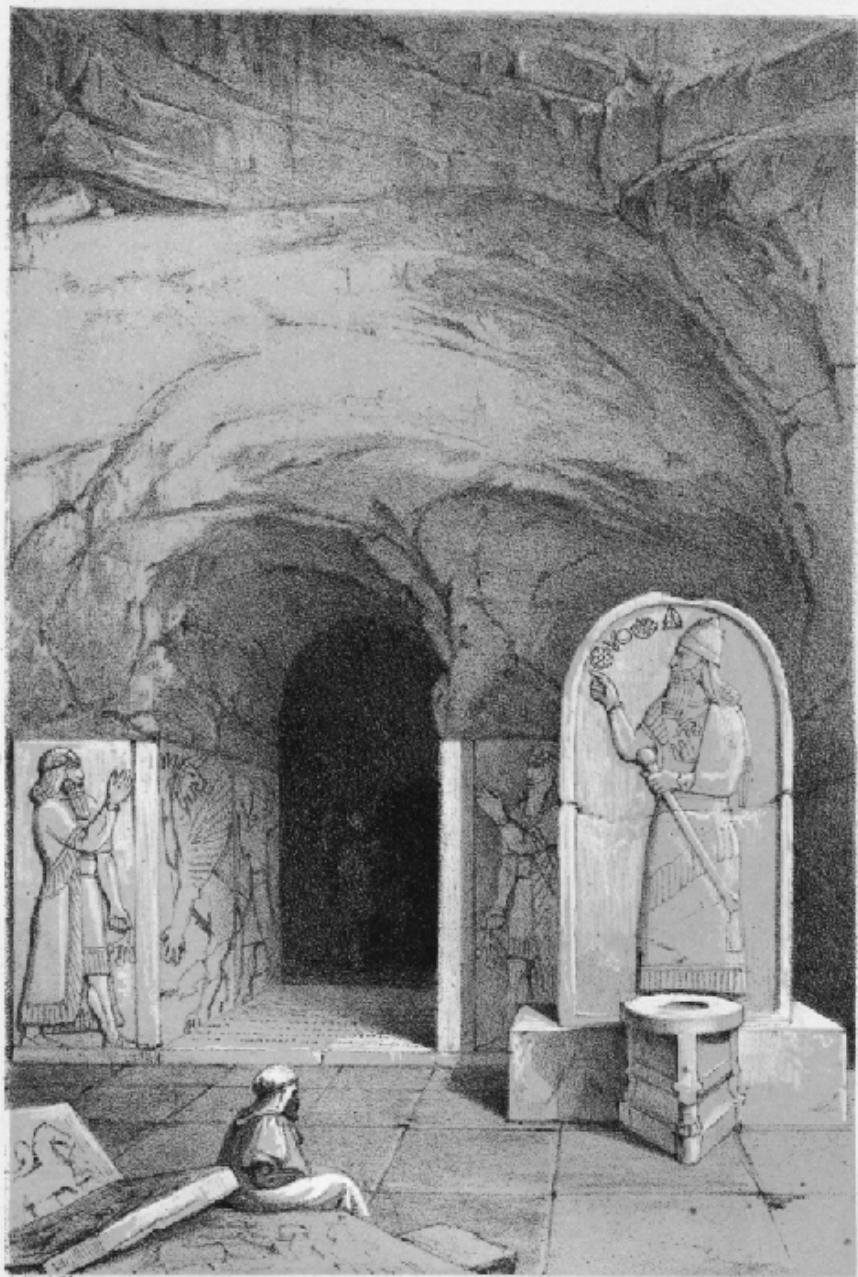
36 Kalhu (Nimrud) city plan. (Adapted from Mallowan 1966: Fig. 1 in p.32.) Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq <http://www.bisi.ac.uk>.



37 Kalhu (Nimrud) citadel plan with excavated remains (Mallowan 1966: Fig. 1 in p.32). Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq <http://www.bisi.ac.uk>.



40 Kalhu (Nimrd) plan of Ninurta temple in Kalhu citadel (Mallowan 1966: Fig. 35, in p. 84). Image courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq <http://www.bisi.ac.uk>.



F. Cooper.

John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1852

N. Chevallier lith.

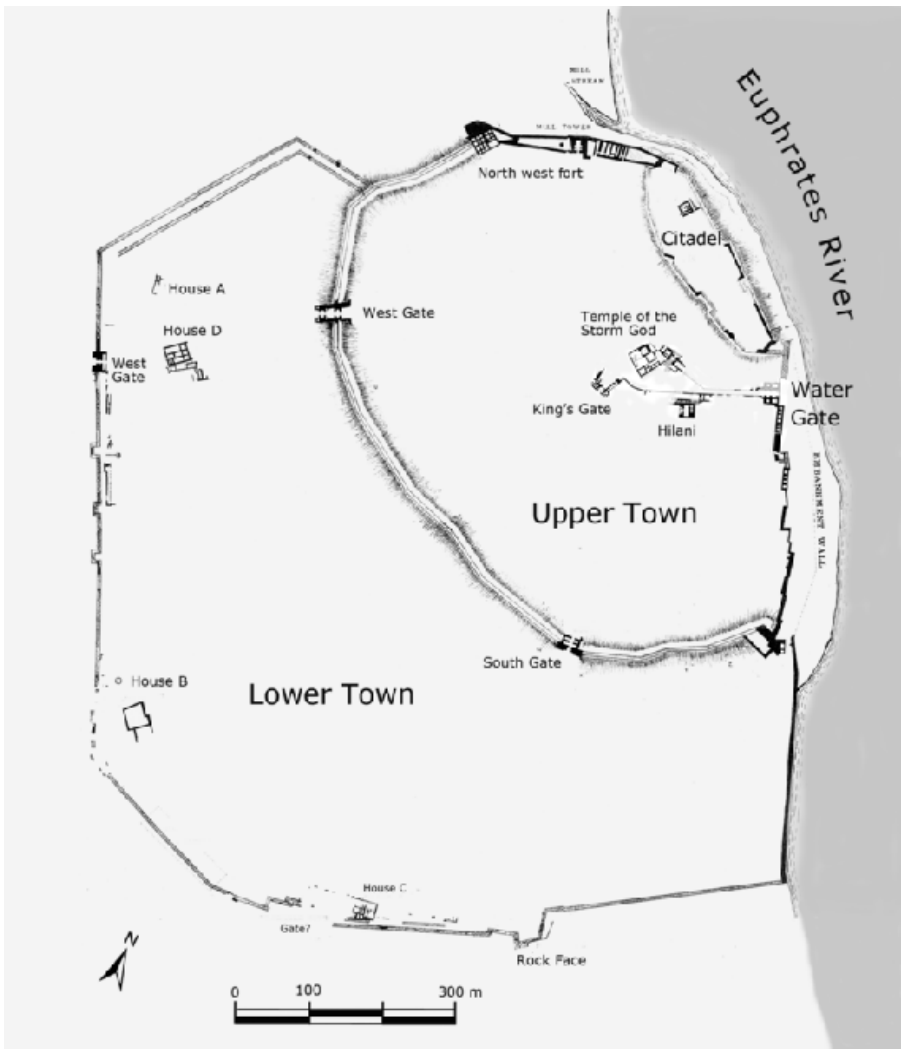
Entrance to Temple, High Mound Nimroud

41 Kalhu (Nimrd) Ninurta temple in Kalhu citadel. F. Cooper's drawing of the temple entrance. Layard [1853b](#): 351. Reproduction by John Hay Library, Brown University.

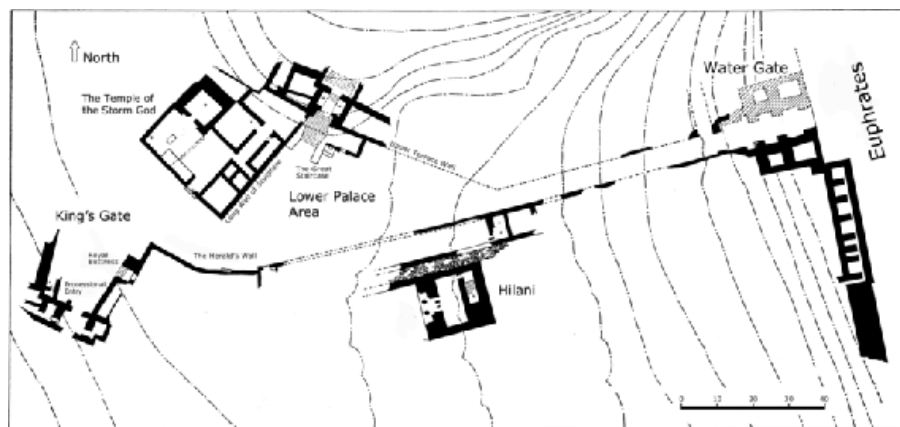


Plate 5. Bas-relief at an entrance to a small temple (Nimrud)

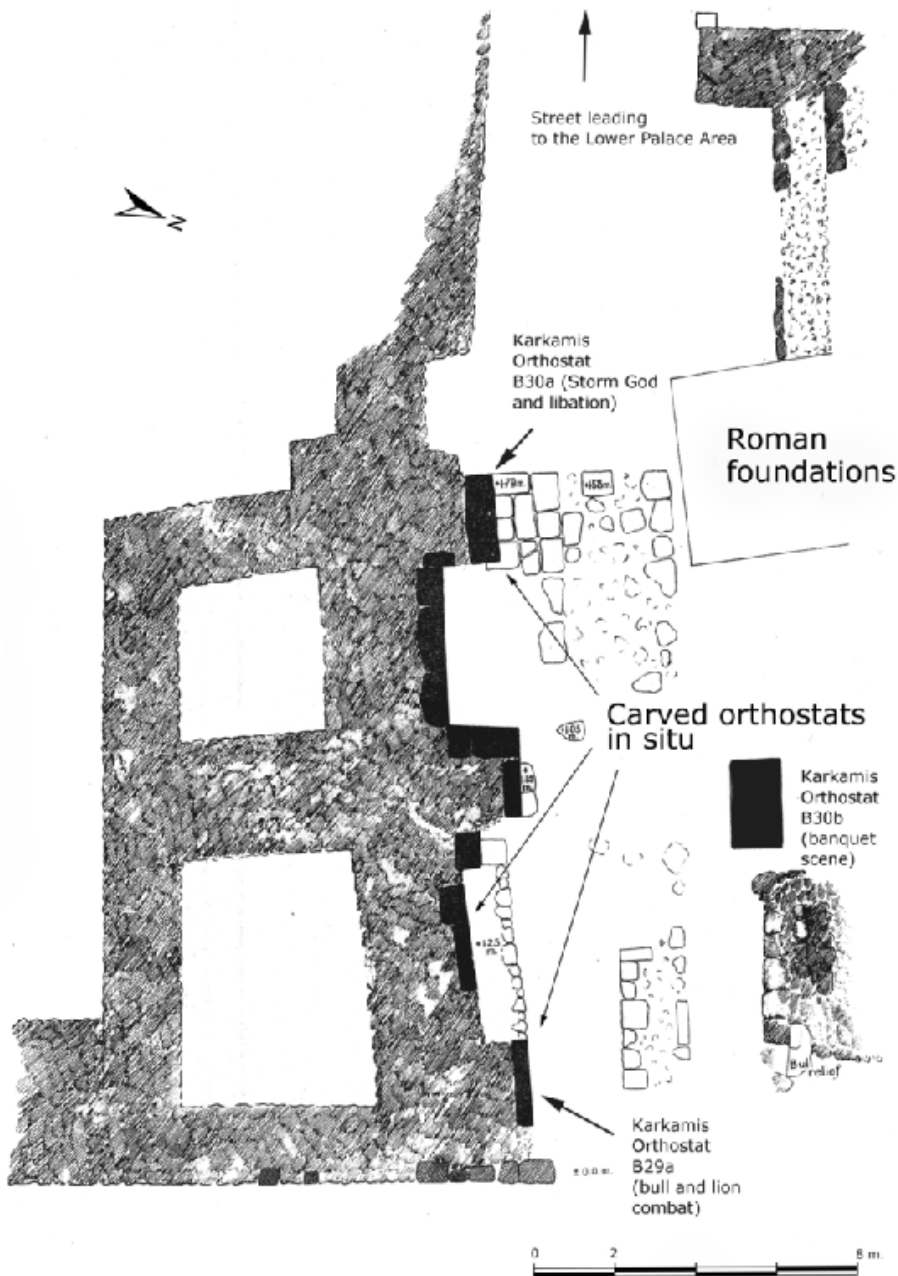
42 Kalhu (Nimrud) Ninurta temple orthostat: Ninurta chases Anzu bird. Drawing. Layard [1853b](#): Plate 5. Reproduction by John Hay Library, Brown University.



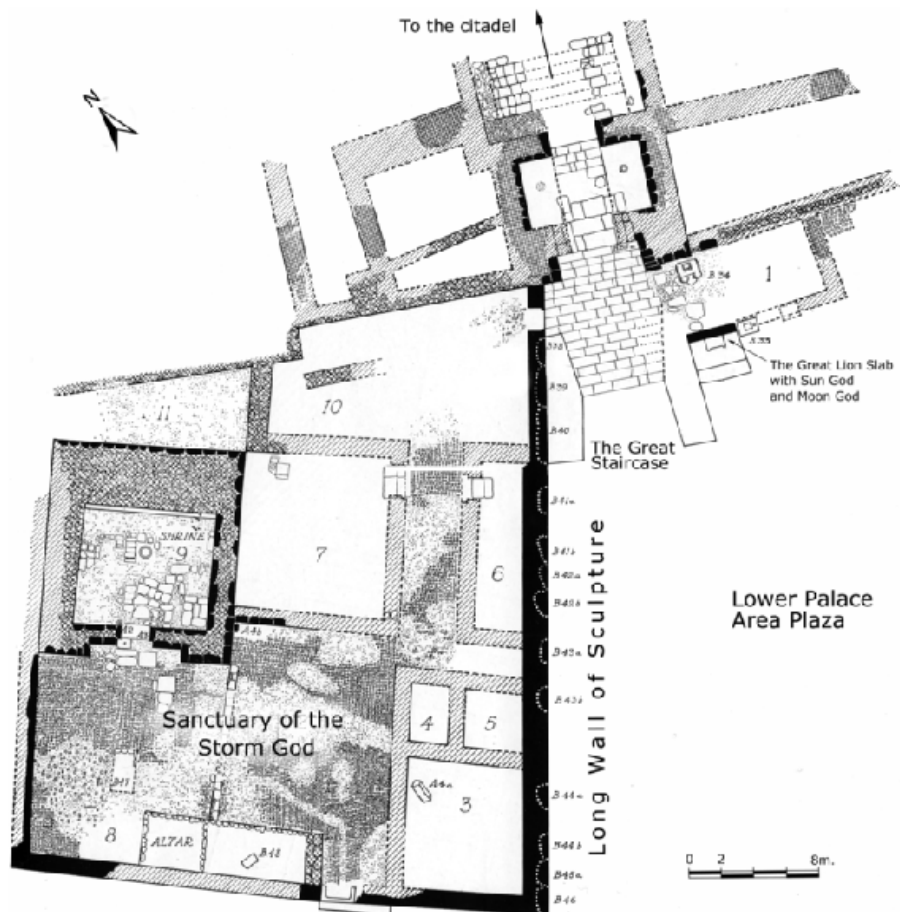
43 Karkami, city plan. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett 1921: Plate 3.)



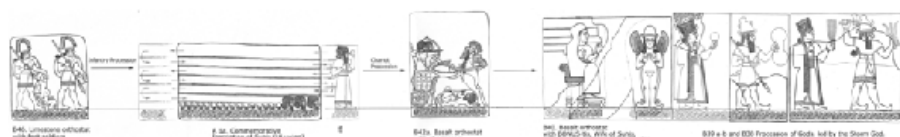
44 Karkami, "Lower Palace Area" plan. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett 1978: 41a.) (Courtesy of the British Museum)



45 Karkami, "Water Gate" plan. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett 1921: Plate 16)



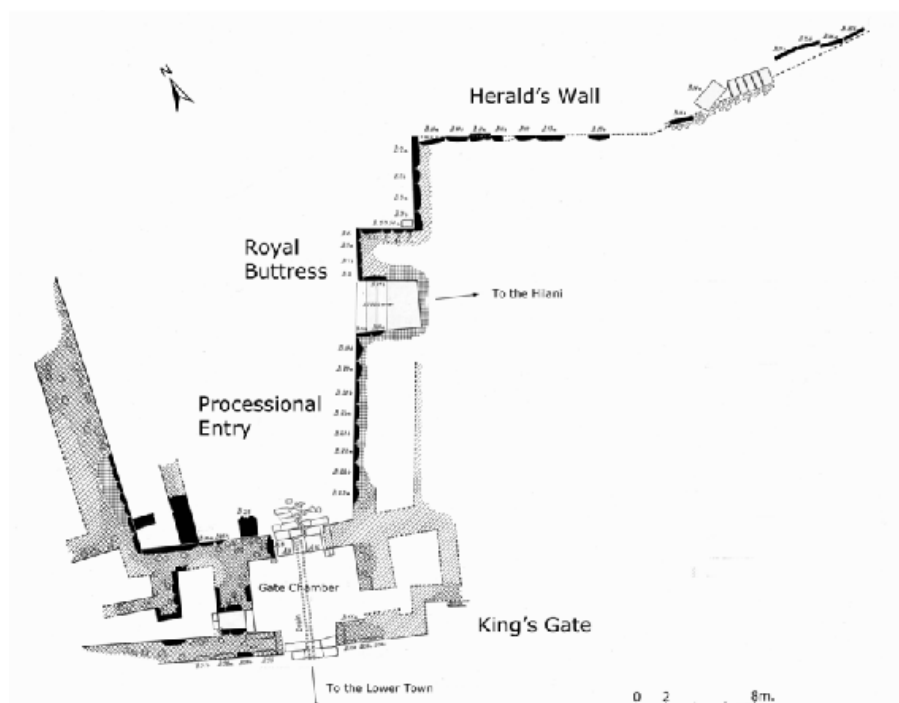
46 Karkami, Lower Palace Area detail plan. Long Wall of Sculpture, Great Staircase, and the Temple of the Storm God. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett 1978: Plate 29.) Courtesy of the British Museum.



47 Karkami, “Long Wall of Sculpture” schematic drawing of the relief narrative. (Adapted from Hawkins 1972: Fig 4a.) Courtesy of David Hawkins.



48 Karkami. Lower Palace Area and the Great Staircase. General view of excavations. (Woolley and Barnett 1978: Plate 31a). Image copyright: The British Museum.



49 Karkami, “King's Gate Area” plan. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett 1978: Plate 43a.) Courtesy of the British Museum.



50 Karkami, Kubaba-Karhuhas Procession. Orthostat reliefs, Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum. (Adapted from Woolley and Barnett [1921](#): Plates B17–24)

Five Upright Stones and Building Stories

architectural technologies and the poetics of urban space

Material style can serve as a useful concept for archaeologists attempting to investigate the social role and meaning of material culture only if it is seen as the objectified result of techniques (rather than as straightforward objectified information); and more specifically it must be seen as the result of characteristic ranges of responses to interlinked technical, formal, and decorative choices made at all stages of *chaîne opératoire* of production. Understanding material culture as a social phenomenon, including the processes of stability and innovation within their historical trajectories, then becomes a matter of understanding the factors that condition these choices, their interrelations, and the reciprocal effects stemming from new choices made at various stages of the *chaîne opératoire*. This approach requires that we understand craftspeople as *social actors* (rather than simply as products/bearers of culture or as acultural adaptive engineers) and that we understand the production and use of objects as social activity.

Dietler and Herbich 1998: 246

The relation between appearance and technology is thus intricate. Appearance being the proof of existence, the architect's orderly use of techniques makes this appearance manifest, so that the evidence of a building is not dissociated from the thought and the story that sustained its construction.

Blais 1999: 11

Technological Style, Architectonic Culture, and the Spaces of Craft-Knowledge

In anthropological terms, culture has been considered as “a web of significance [that man] himself has spun” and from which he cannot escape (Geertz 1973: 5).¹ As it has been argued by Peter Holliday for Roman commemorative monuments, culture can also be conceived as an intricate system of symbol-making and social representation underlying the construction of a collective worldview.² As a material manifestation and a residue of cultural practices, architecture is a fundamental component of this process, and architectural space is therefore by necessity a social product, as argued in previous chapters. The present chapter develops the idea that the building projects are *sites of material elaboration*, where the intensive productive undertaking fosters an unusual spatial context for the exchange of ideas, craft-knowledge, and technological innovation.

In a recent article on the metaphorical quality of architectural materials, Myriam Blais argued that building technologies can be envisioned as “celebration of materials” through invention, which is described as a “creative encounter between thought and materials” or “the imaginative handling of distinct materials through skilful work.”³ The festive character of the building enterprise was already established in the previous chapter. It is my goal in this chapter to demonstrate that monumental building activity creates a medium of exchange of artisanal knowledge and technological innovation. By challenging the limits of human knowledge, the festive context of the building project provides a basis for the craftly transformation of materials into cultural products. Through the mobilization of the symbolic capital to the political center in the form of material resources, labor force, and qualified craftsmen from outside, the site of the building project constitutes places for cross-cultural exchange.⁴ The specialized craft activity forms a corpus of building technologies, a material assemblage of regional architectural practices. This could also be understood as a “localized nexus of architectural forms” (Wheatley 2001) that conversely constitutes the material world through which artisanal knowledge circulates. This circulation then maintains a certain “knowledge-space,” some form of *koine* of architectural or craft-knowledge (Turnbull 2000).

Monuments are commemorative in many layers by way of their material qualities. Their skillful construction commemorates the historical circumstances of economic prosperity and social transformation precisely at the time during which they were built. But, as material evidences for that socially conspicuous event, they also continue to commemorate their own making by invoking the

technologies and social relations of their manufacture. This chapter introduces the third scale of approach to the practice of city foundations by bringing the discussion to architectural materials and technologies, and their cultural significance in the framework of large scale building programs. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 investigate the city-building practices in the context of the long-term landscape transformations in settlement history and the urban cultural renewal programs initiated by royal agents. This chapter argues that both the physical environment and the representational image of new cities were exclusively shaped by particular architectural technologies. Through the use of carefully selected high-status construction materials, skilled craftsmanship, and innovative technologies, the urban image of a new city was created, employing a culturally specific aesthetics of construction. Such symbolically charged technologies of construction constitute, what Kenneth Frampton (1995) calls, an *architectonic culture* that is specific to places and regions. The term “architectonic(s)” (or shortly “tectonics”) is used here in accordance with contemporary architectural theory, in reference to aspects of building pertaining to construction. *Tectonics* in architectural discourse is articulated in such a way that it not only “indicates a structural and material probity, but also a poetics of construction.” (Frampton 1990, 20; also Hartoonian 1994). Frampton suggests that the tectonic character refers to the *ontological* aspect of building construction as opposed to *representational* or scenographic.⁵ Architectonic culture then refers to a corpus of architectural practices and technologies that are not only materially prevalent in the making of the built environment but also powerfully familiar to a broad spectrum of the society from kings to the craftsmen and to the ordinary citizens. The thesis here is that the transformative period of the Early Iron Age in Upper Mesopotamia gave rise to a newly fashioned architectonic culture in the public sphere through the extensive use of finely worked stone masonry and carved and uncarved upright wall slabs (orthostats), and that this was an important component of the practice of founding cities.

The contemporary interest in technologies of construction in architectural theory overlaps with new critical inquiries about technology in anthropological and archaeological theory, particular in the cross-disciplinary field of material culture studies. Technology is no longer understood as a dull and mechanical process, but in fact a symbolically charged chain of operations of artifact production and bodily techniques, through which artifacts become indexes of bodies of skilled knowledge, craftsmen's agency, and the social relations of production. The concept of *technological style* (or *material style*) in this

sense is crucial for our purposes, and has recently gained interest among archaeologists and art historians who work on the technological processes of manufacture.⁶ The discussion on ancient artifacts are increasingly shifting away from the sterile formal-iconographic discussions of finished products and cyclical arguments for dating and moves toward the social and technological context of the making of artifacts. Materials, tools, techniques, organization of skilled labor, circulation of artisanal knowledge, and agency of craftspeople – all of these constitute the complex relationships effective in the manufacture of artifacts, their meaning, their symbolism and their *style*. Technology is not understood merely as a functional means of adaptation developed mechanistically in response to the environmental constraints and challenges,⁷ but more as a means of “creating and maintaining a symbolically meaningful environment” through practices of material production.⁸ The processes and techniques of manufacture are envisioned *not* as being isolated from symbolic structures of the society and ideology. On the contrary, the technological processes are believed to be embedded within those structures (Hegmon 1998: 268).

David Summers (2003: 74–86) refers to the concept of technological style as “facture,” in association with the Latin verb *facio, facere*, “to make or do.” He suggests that “to consider an artifact in terms of its facture is to consider it as a record of its own having been made” (Summers 2003: 74). This idea of bridging the gap between the *making* (craft activity) and the *cultural artifact* in a way overlaps with Kenneth Frampton’s concept of *architectonic expression* as poetics of construction, which ensures that architecture is *not* dissociated from its making (*poiesis*), and in fact derives its symbolism, meaning and style from the very act of its making.⁹ The skill of the craftsman is challenged by the limits of the material and the tools available to him, ecological constraints, societal norms and the demands of his patrons, all of which he had to reconcile. He also had to work through a number of conscious choices made throughout the production process. A local aesthetics of construction is achieved as the making manifest of the intrinsic qualities and potentials of the raw material. The skilled craftsmanship in building construction, such as the use of particular masonry techniques, derive from a sophisticated corpus of the building knowledge, accumulated over centuries and preserved through continued practice and social memory. David Turnbull (2000: 19–20) suggested in his work on the sociology of indigenous knowledge that the assemblage of local architectural practices creates an eloquent “knowledge-space” in the urban environment. The knowledge-space is a localized, visually marked and highly spatialized

geographical realm, the limits of which were defined by the circulation of craft-knowledge. If the built environment is interwoven by means of a culturally meaningful tectonic expression, Turnbull's knowledge-space is a representational quilt over the urban fabric. It also maintains and reproduces that urban fabric.

With this approach to architectural technologies, the following sections discuss the practice of building with orthostats – finely cut upright stone slabs lining walls in place of a socle – in the context of large-scale city-building projects. The proliferation of carved orthostat programs and finely worked ashlar masonry in basalt, gypsum, and limestone in Upper Mesopotamia during the Early Iron Age presents an ideal paradigm for the study of a tectonic culture and the achievement of a technological style that gained social significance across various regions. Several factors were effective in this process of technological innovation and dissemination: the itinerant nature of stone-working workshops, the highly prestigious status of orthostats as imperial insignia, and the introduction of effective stone-working tools with the development and spread of iron technology, to mention a few. What is pursued in this chapter most significantly is the transformation of a noteworthy architectural technique into a representational tool used increasingly and more effectively to shape the cult places, ceremonial spaces of the state, and public realm in the new cities.

Orthostats: A Monumental Finish for Weathering Walls

The architectural practice of using sculpted orthostats in monumental buildings is widely understood as a distinct aspect of Upper Mesopotamian architecture during the Iron Age. When Late Assyrian and Syro-Hittite rulers of this period started to initiate a series of monumental commemorative programs in the Early Iron Age, the idea of using stone orthostats to protect the lower courses of the walls of public structures became a remarkably widespread practice in the entire Upper Mesopotamia. In his foundational study *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten* (published in 1860), Gottfried Semper discussed Assyrian orthostats in the context of the historical development of architectural technologies and what he termed “tectonic arts”:

As it happened, however, a new principle of wall dressing developed simultaneously with the appearance of the new empire. This involved the use of a new material that resisted weathering...of sun-dried brick walls...Without this principle – the flat stones with which the lower parts of rooms in Assyrian palaces were dressed and which have survived unscathed [*in-situ*] ...excavations would have yielded at best a few clay vessels, bronze objects, stone cylinders and so on....These stone panels, mainly of alabaster, preserve the spatial idea that found its expression in architecture.

(Semper 2004 (1860))¹⁰

Semper sees upright wall slabs as a significant step toward monumental expression and a consciousness of the quality of architectural space through the craftly use of stone. Elsewhere, he refers to carved wall slabs as “stone embroidery” (Semper 2004: 276). Assyrian architectural pieces that were brought at the time to European museums following the first excavations in Assyria during the mid-nineteenth century had a major impact on Semper's theory of architectural technologies, style and space.

The orthostat programs of the Near East gained the status of shared royal insignia and subsequently accommodated pictorial relief programs and royal inscriptions that animated ceremonial spaces. The relationship of these narrative programs with the urban spaces of Kalhu and Karkami was discussed in the previous chapter. In the following, I trace the genealogy of the architectural practice of consolidating walls with ashlar stone socles and orthostatic revetments and suggest that this technique was initially a construction strategy intended to overcome the deterioration of wall surfaces, long before their use as billboards for political and ritual imagery. The archaeological evidence for the use of orthostats goes back to the early centuries of the Middle Bronze Age in northern Syria during the twentieth and nineteenth centuries BCE. These early orthostats appeared in the form of finely dressed plain slabs in the architectural context of temples and palaces in the region and marked them with a special tectonic expression. Isolated relief panels and abbreviated narrative scenes were occasionally incorporated into these surfaces, and most of these examples are associated with Hittite imperial structures in north Syria and Anatolia.

During the Early Iron Age, with the introduction of the iron tools into building practice for the first time, the craft of stone-cutting became a flourishing and much more widespread technology. In the Iron Age cities of the Syro-Hittite sphere and the Assyrian Empire, surfaces of finely worked stone façades were gradually treated as representational surfaces for pictorial narratives and monumental inscriptions, acquiring the powerful symbolisms of prestige and power. This introduction of pictorial narratives and monumental inscriptions onto the stone surfaces of monumental buildings coincides precisely with yet another innovation in the context of the city-building projects in Assyria and the Syro-Hittite states. It is illustrated in the following sections that the practice of using wall slabs as a construction technique was attested in north Syrian cities from the Middle Bronze Age onward, whereas the idea of using wall surfaces to illustrate pictorial narrative compositions owed considerably to the Middle Euphratene and Assyrian traditions of wall painting. The combination of the two was only crystallized as part of the large-scale building projects of the Early Iron Age as a shared practice in Upper Mesopotamia.

The word *orthostat* itself is an architectural term borrowed from classical Greek [ρθοστάτης = *orthostatês*] to refer to upright stone slabs in wall construction. These stone slabs were practically used to consolidate the lower courses of mudbrick walls against erosion caused by rain, wind or other forms of everyday physical damage.¹¹ As a technique of wall cladding (*Bekleidung* in German architectural literature), orthostats were developed primarily to alleviate the effects of weathering on wall surfaces. This technique is comparable to the use of other finishing techniques, such as plastering or painting. Weathering is described in the Oxford English Dictionary as “the action of the atmospheric agencies or elements on substances exposed to its influence; the discoloration, disintegration, and so on resulting from this action.”¹² The word *weathering* not only denotes this environmental deterioration that attacks the building in time but also the *finishing* technique that is developed in building arts as a precaution against it. This double entendre of the word is best discussed in Mohsen Mostafavi and David Leatherbarrow's influential work *On weathering* (1993), where they suggest that the acquired knowledge of weathering in buildings through time and against environmental-climatic conditions enabled the building craftsmen to turn this problem into a design criterion and continuously improve the tectonic qualities of building surfaces by means of a variety of innovations in architectural finishing. This aspect of building practice, which reflexively adjusts itself in due relation with the continuous

monitoring of weathering, has been an important component in the formation of architectural traditions. Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow discuss the diachronic relation between building deterioration and the formation of architectural finishing techniques in reference to the confrontation of architecture with time and environmental conditions. Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow brilliantly conclude, “finishing ends construction, weathering constructs finishes” (1993: 5).¹³ The orthostats should be understood as one such innovation.

The materials and technology employed in wall construction varied considerably from region to region in the upper Mesopotamian settlements, but the most common technique was certainly mudbrick walls with timber framing.¹⁴ In certain regions that have abundant sources of building stone and a wetter climate such as the Anatolian Plateau, the Levant or Cyprus, ashlar foundations were raised up to the dado level by means of a few finely dressed ashlar courses above the ground to serve as a protective “wall socle” (Naumann 1971: 75).¹⁵ A stone socle provides greater structural stability to the mudbrick superstructure, and avoids surface dampness, water creepage, and erosion at the base of the load-bearing walls (Gregori 1986: 91–92). A widespread alternative practice in north Syria and Assyria during the Iron Age was to introduce thinner rectangular slabs cut to cover the lower wall faces as revetment. This technique is an architectural economization and refinement of socles in mudbrick wall construction (Figure 51). Stimulated by the tectonic surface quality and the sense of monumentality that the wall socle and orthostatic masonry offered, the craftsmen eventually transformed these stone surfaces into fields of pictorial representation, either with isolated images or narrative programs in painting and relief. Apotropaic sculpture, carved fully or partially in the round, marked significant transitional spaces (such as gates). One must consider this process in correlation to the development of other wall cladding techniques throughout the Late Bronze Age, such as wall painting and glazed brick decoration, both of which had already served as representational-narrative media. It is possible to understand this phenomenon, then, as an incorporation or appropriation of representationality as symbolic value by the Iron Age craftsmen, to be inscribed onto the tectonic surfaces of the finely dressed walls. This appropriated representationality, no doubt, was an essential constituent of the ceremonial, ritual, and institutional spaces in the Early Iron Age cities. However, the materiality of stone and the building technologies it embodied remained in the foreground of the significance of these urban spaces.

Under the patronage of several rulers, the stone relief programs gained a remarkable momentum and increasing complexity in the Early and Middle Iron Ages. In the Syro-Hittite cities, orthostat relief programs are found by and large in exterior surfaces of monumental public buildings such as city-gates, temples, public squares, and palace façades. The orthostats were most frequently carved in local basalt or limestone, and represent mythological or ceremonial subjects in their visual programs (Hawkins 1982a: 435–439). Late Assyrian builders, in contrast, erected orthostats mainly in the interior spaces and courtyards of palatial complexes. City or citadel gates and temple orthostat programs are also known to have been raised in Assyrian cities. Both the Late Assyrian and the Syro-Hittite orthostat programs featured extensive historical inscriptions that accompanied the pictorial schemes.

Visual analyses of Assyrian palatial relief programs stand as a distinct and rich field of inquiry in the discipline of Ancient Near Eastern art history.¹⁶ Perhaps this is partly because of the remarkable historical role that these stone slabs played in the mid- nineteenth century, as they were the first artifacts of the distant Mesopotamian civilization to be introduced to the European museums.¹⁷ The quality of carving techniques applied to the gypsum slabs of the Middle Tigris region, the historical-narrative character of their programmatic display, and the sophistication that they exhibit in their iconography receive well-deserved attention in art historical literature. Apart from the issues of pictorial representation, recent work by several scholars further investigates how the sculpture contributes to the articulation of space in palatial contexts.¹⁸ Rarely studied, however, is the architectonic significance of the orthostats as finely worked elements in the structure of monumental walls, which appears as a prominent component in the lexicon of architectural technologies, employed in Iron Age urban contexts.

Art history discourse has principally treated sculpted orthostats as representational surfaces, often reducing their materiality, their ontological quality, to iconographic and literary content. This iconographic and textual content, as well as the stylistic form, are conveniently studied by means of standard art historical and philological methods of analysis, which assume that the cultural significance of the orthostats is only dependent on their pictoriality and textuality. This academic understanding has its roots in the nineteenth-century excavations of Assyrian palaces in Iraq. Following

the initial discovery of the Assyrian orthostats at the site of Ar-nsir-apli II's Northwest Palace at Nimrud in 1845, Austen Henry Layard hired marble cutters from Mosul to slice the stone orthostats to relieve them from their "excessive" weight for easy transport to England. The parts bearing the "standard inscription" that occupied the middle section of many orthostats were sawn into pieces and apparently sent to Layard's friends across the world as souvenirs, while the overall thickness of the slabs was reduced by cutting away their back (Layard 1849, 1: 140) (see further discussion later in this chapter). For Layard, the most valuable aspect of these artifacts was apparently their pictorial content. Much valuable architectural evidence about the Assyrian wall construction techniques, such as dowel holes, tool marks, and slab thicknesses, was destroyed in this manner. But more significantly, the ontological quality of the orthostats was altered: solid architectural members were transformed into thin pictorial plaques. To this day, the strategies of exhibiting Assyrian orthostats in Western museums and their publication formats only continue to endorse this view of orthostats as two-dimensional planar entities, a view that has largely dominated the art historical and archaeological interpretations of these artifacts accordingly. It seems therefore important to start to address the material aspects of orthostats as architectonic members in monumental contexts.

My main contention here is that the technique of using upright stone slabs was *primarily* a conspicuous aspect of architectural construction in Late Assyrian and Syro-Hittite cities and acted as material components of an *architectonic* culture. This architectural practice was shared between different regions and eventually became associated with commemorative relief programs as part of the royal rhetoric used by the ruling elites, albeit with significant regional variations. As such, the two cultural domains, Assyria and Syro-Hittite states, belong to the same sphere of interaction in upper Mesopotamia during the Early Iron Age.¹⁹ The specific choice and acquisition of stone from local or extra-regional sources, the proclaimed access to the skilled craftsmanship for the production of these sculptural programs and the demonstrated economic basis to support such labor intensive activity constituted a significant aspect of royal building projects. Therefore, it may be possible to hypothesize that the tectonic expression that was achieved through the use of ashlar masonry and the orthostatic revetment was itself already a symbolically charged aspect within the architectural vocabulary.

In the following sections, I review the textual and archaeological

evidence about the early development of the orthostat tradition as an architectural practice to reflect on its cultural significance in the urban landscapes with reference to the subsequent formation of an architectural *koine*. Before doing so, however, I will return to Kalhu and review the use of stone masonry in some securely dated buildings. This helps to elucidate aspects of innovation during this building project and to address questions concerning the transfer of architectural knowledge, which is generally taken for granted in the scholarly literature for the reign of this particular king. Turning then to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in Syria, early development of orthostats is illustrated on a regional scale in the light of available archaeological evidence. Finally, attention is drawn to the formation of a cultural *koine* between the Assyrian empire and the Syro-Hittite city states, illustrated in the shared use of sculpted orthostat programs as part of the commemorative building practices.

Kalhu: Technologies of Stone, Architectural Innovation, and Visual Culture

Chapter 4 discusses Ar-nsir-apli II's building program at his imperial foundation of Kalhu as an innovative enterprise, a "quantum leap" in the history of the Assyrian empire.²⁰ The architectural "decoration" program of the Northwest Palace is accepted as a significant innovation both in techniques of manufacture and subject matter of its visual representations.²¹ In the Banquet Stele text, Ar-nsir-apli describes his construction of eight palaces (*kallte*) of different types of precious wood (lines 25–26) and the bronze, gold, and lapis lazuli finishing of the temples. In those lines, it is particularly evident that there is a pronounced allurements to the finely selected architectural material (lines 63–72). Hence, the text is self-evident in displaying a powerful rhetoric of construction aesthetics.²² Later in the text (line 103), the Northwest Palace was referred to as "the palace that holds the totality of skilled craftsmanship of Kalhu" [*kallu kullat nmeqi a URU.Kalhu*]. What is essential to note here is that there is a direct association between the foundation of the city as a large-scale building project and the idea of material elaboration (i.e., intensified craft production) in search for innovative technologies for the fulfillment of both practical and symbolic requisites of an architectural ensemble.

The virtual absence of a comparable program with a similar scope of architectural integrity and pictorial-narrative complexity in the Assyrian heartland prior to Ar-nsir-apli II continues to puzzle

scholars. The most outstanding innovation that is attributed to the artisans of this king's court is the extensive use of sculpted and unsculpted orthostats for lining the walls of the interior and semi-interior spaces across the Northwest Palace, creating an exceptional tectonic quality and ceremonial meaning for the enclosed spaces.²³ With the display inscriptions running across almost all stone surfaces in the palace, the historical narrative scenes in the Throne Room B, its façade in Courtyard E, and the West Wing reception halls, the architectural surfaces are articulated into a complex representational scheme, with a politics-cum-ritual metanarrative.

There is yet another striking sentence in the Banquet Stele inscription that may be referring to the pictorial narrative program of the Northwest Palace²⁴:

30. *the praises of my warriorhood, [concerning] the mountains, lands and seas of the frontiers I have frequented,*
31. *the conquest of all the lands out of zagindurê-color(?) onto walls of brickwork I depicted.*
32. *I fired baked bricks into blue-glazed bricks and installed them over its gates.*

Is it possible that these two lines refer to the orthostat relief program of Throne Room B and some of the rooms in West Wing (such as WG and WK), which featured narrative representations of the king's military campaigns and royal hunt scenes? *zagindurû* is a Sumerian loanword into Akkadian and generally refers to “greenish lapis lazuli” or used as a color determinant for any other thing such as glass, meadows, barley, and so on (CAD Z: 11). Written syllabically and without the usual stone determinative [NA4], here it must be understood as a metaphor of color (a greenish blue?) or other visual/textural quality of the cladding material, whether in this context it was glazed brick decoration, mural painting, or carved stone orthostat.²⁵ It is known that color pigments were applied at least partially (or according to some scholars comprehensively) onto the orthostat reliefs, highlighting certain details.²⁶ On the other hand, the upper halves of the walls (ca. 3.7 m in height) above the orthostats were also painted with color pigments applied on finely finished mud plaster, and featured geometric designs as well as narrative scenes.²⁷ On the fragments of frescoes that were found in Throne Room B and adjacent Room F of the palace, “Egyptian” or frit blue was used extensively as a background, which might possibly reflect the

zagingurû quality mentioned in our text.²⁸ Large scale glazed brick tiles with narrative representations, sometimes referred as “brick orthostats” (*Ziegelorthostaten*) are found in the Anu-Adad Temple in Aur in secondary context and date to the time of A.r-nsir-apli II’s father Tukult-Ninurta II (890–884 BCE). It has been suggested that these inscribed and painted baked clay slabs might have originally served as orthostats in king’s palace at Aur.²⁹ Reporting the recent Iraqi excavations at the Northwest Palace, Muzhim Mahmud Hussein (2002: 143 and figure 4) noted that “in some of the [newly excavated] rooms, the lower parts of the walls were lined with inscribed baked clay orthostats.” Moreover, A.H. Layard also found “a large collection” of glazed bricks with figural decorations of “animals, flowers and cuneiform characters” in the Courtyard E in front of the throne room façade (Layard 1849 II: 13–14).³⁰ The smaller edge-glazed bricks [NA4.agurri ina NA4.ZA.GiN] that are mentioned in line 32, are found lining the arch, creating a neat profile on the gateway leading from Courtyard Y into Room F (Oates and Oates 2002: 59–61, figure 32).

As distinct types of wall cladding and representational media in the architecture of the Northwest Palace, wall paintings and glazed bricks existed alongside the stone orthostats, despite their unbalanced representation in the archaeological record and modern scholarship. The continued use of these techniques are much more evident in the better preserved but slightly later examples from the *ekal maarti* of ulmnu-aard (Shalmaneser) III at Kalhu and the Late Assyrian palace at Til Barsip/Kr-ulmnu-aard (Tell Ahmar).³¹ In the Late Assyrian palace on the citadel, well-known because of its respectively well-preserved wall painting program, a layer of grayish, clay-rich mud plaster and white lime coatings were applied onto the mudbrick walls, which then received mono- and polychromatic paintings.³² The base of the walls at the dado level, however, were coated with bitumen (2–5 mm thick) to a height of 40–60 cm, fulfilling the same function as stone or glazed brick orthostats (i.e., protection of the most vulnerable section of the mural surfaces, especially from water) (Tomabechi 1983: 63). A similar technique of bitumen covered dado is known from the wall paintings of Tukult-Ninurta I’s (1233–1197 BCE) South and North Palaces and the Aur temple at Kr-Tukult-Ninurta.³³ The bitumen base (*Asphalt-Sockelanstrich*) of these *al secco* frescoes rose 45–50 cm high and a strip of red plaster separated this base from the figural scenes above (Eickstedt et al. 1994: 17–18). It is important to note that bitumen was also extensively used as a base for the setting of stone orthostats and pavement slabs in the Northwest Palace at Kalhu to serve as an “impervious and tenacious” water-proofing agent (Moorey 1994: 335).³⁴

The stone that Ar-nsir-apli II's craftsmen actually used for the orthostats was gypsum (hydrated calcium sulphate) in its compact, non-crystalline form, as it was found abundantly in northern Iraq and often confusingly referred in scholarly literature as "alabaster," "white limestone" or "Mosul marble" (Moorey 1994: 336). Similar confusion can be found in the ancient accounts of these stones: Moorey pointed out the frustrating difficulties in translating *plu psu* (usually "white limestone") and *partu* or *ginugallu* (usually "alabaster"), because they were very inconsistently used in the ancient texts for calcium-based stones used in architecture (including gypsum) as well as for precious white stones (Moorey 1994: 343–344).³⁵ Gypsum of the Assyrian orthostats is a soft, non-brittle stone, which was highly valued perhaps because of its fine-grained, alabaster-like, translucent surface quality that darkens when exposed to atmosphere, therefore considerably convenient for carving (Reade 1983: 25–26; Reade 1990: 46). It is quite vulnerable to weather conditions and dampness, and is therefore unsuited for exterior use unless it was protected from rain or its surfaces are treated with varnishing or painting. From the limited information known about ancient quarries of gypsum in Assyria, an important quarry is known to be in the area of Eski Mosul, 40 km northwest of Nineveh (ancient Nnuwa) along the Tigris (it was provisionally identified as ancient Bala, known from inscriptions and wall reliefs of Sennacherib). The quarry at Tastiti, possibly somewhere halfway between Nnuwa and Bala on the west bank of the Tigris was used reportedly by the kings before Sennacherib.³⁶ On the other hand, limestone was locally available in the low foothills across the Tigris from Nimrd (Paley 1976: 9). One may perhaps reasonably argue that Ar-nsir-apli II's move of his administrative capital from Aur to Kalhu might have also been motivated by, among other reasons, the availability of good building stone in the Nnuwa-Kalhu region for large-scale building projects. Ar-nsir-apli II's building program at Kalhu is essentially the earliest attestation of such extensive and consistent use of gypsum, which makes it clear that new quarries were opened for large-scale use of the stone by his craftsmen along the Tigris basin and that major experimentations took place in quarrying, carving, and building technologies.

It is noteworthy that the availability of iron for the production of more effective stone-working tools was of primary importance for the development of stone masonry.³⁷ The development of iron technology in the Near East was gradual toward the end of the second millennium BCE and its widespread attestation in textual and archaeological record in upper Mesopotamia is not before the Early to Middle Iron Ages.³⁸

Moorey (1994: 290) remarks that the ninth century BCE marks the time period during which iron became relatively common in Assyria, especially during the reigns of Ar-nsir-apli II and ulmnu-aard III, at the time when iron appeared among the massive lists of tribute, royal gifts, and booty from the Syro-Hittite states of Cilicia and the Upper Euphrates as well as the Phoenician cities of the Levant.³⁹ By the time of Tukult Ninurta II and Ar-nsir-apli II, iron weapons and tools were already in large-scale use.

The archaeological information about the non-representational aspects of the Northwest Palace orthostats is extremely slim, including such evidence as masons' tool marks, dowel holes, and system sections of mudbrick walls that would show how stone slabs were incorporated into the mudbrick wall structure, or even the very basic measurement of the thickness of the slabs. Ryszard P. Sobolewski expressed that one of the major goals of the Polish excavations at Nimrud in 1974–1976 was to fill this gap (Sobolewski 1981: 253):

A thorough inspection of the way the stones had been dressed, how they had been connected together, the way they had been anchored and attached to the walls, tells us that the decorative elements which had interested us up to now as masterpieces of Assyrian art, were not only decorations but also an integral component of the architectural constructions.

However, much work still remains to be accomplished toward this goal.⁴⁰ As mentioned earlier, after the initial discovery of orthostats in 1845, A.H. Layard cut the relief sections off the stone orthostats to relieve them from their “excessive” weight. Layard writes (1849 I: 140):

I determined, therefore, to displace the slabs (in chamber B) divided into two compartments; then to saw off the sculptures, and to reduce them as much as possible by cutting from the back. The inscriptions being a mere repetition of the same formula I did not consider it necessary to preserve them, as they added to the weight. With the help of levers of wood, and by digging away the wall of sun-dried bricks from behind the slabs, I was enabled to turn them into the centre of the trench, where they were sawn by

Valuable architectural information about the orthostats was thus destroyed. Mallowan also reports that about 15 cm of “plinth” was cut from the base of several slabs (Mallowan 1966 I: 98 and 324 n. 10). The slabs were extremely tall (ca. 2.70 m) and thin (ca. 25 cm) with varying widths, and the lowest undecorated 50 cm of the slabs (referred as “plinth” by Mallowan) would remain underground as they were flush with pavement blocks (Meuszyski 1974: 51). As mentioned previously, the slabs were set in bitumen and attached to the load-bearing mudbrick core of the wall with the help of timber elements or perhaps lead clamps. Final finishing of the blocks was certainly carried out after they were set in the wall (Moorey 1994: 32–33). Several rooms in the Northwest Palace were lined with *unsculpted* slabs but they were inscribed with the Standard inscription, including the *bitnu* court Y and rooms J, M, O, P, R, and X around it (Paley and Sobolewski 1987 and 1992). This evidence alone testifies that the functionality of Assyrian orthostats cannot be simplified to a purely “decorative” technique.

The use of finely finished stone masonry was not limited to the Northwest Palace in Ar-nisr-apli II's city. At least in three major monumental structures with ashlar masonry, orthostatic programs, and gateway sculpture are suggested to involve the work of the king's craftsmen. One is the quay wall facing the Tigris River, and the other two are the orthostat programs of the Ninurta and arrat-Niphi temple complexes. In a significant effort to understand the nature of Kalhu's citadel wall in 1952, Mallowan and his team excavated a deep cut through the western sector of the citadel wall, in an area where the steep wall formed the edge of the palace overlooking the Tigris River.⁴¹ This sounding at the quay wall revealed that the massive mudbrick wall had ashlar limestone foundations (preserved 8.8 m. in height) that rested over sandstone bedrock and backed on to “a natural bed of conglomerate rock” (Mallowan 1966 I: 78).⁴² The bottom five courses had rusticated facing, while eight preserved courses above had finely dressed faces with perfect vertical and horizontal joints (Figure 39).⁴³ The courses were approximately 80 cm in height with blocks as large as 152 cm in length. The top two courses were set in bitumen, thus waterproofed. The facing course was backed with a second vertical course of roughly hewn blocks. Behind this course, the excavators found an earlier stone facing of the wall

with much smaller but still skillfully dressed blocks. In the absence of any archaeological evidence to date these two phases, Mallowan associated the earlier phase with Ar-nsir-apli II's building program, and the more monumental phase with Adad-nerari III (810–783 BCE), on the basis of a similarity with stone masonry in the Nabu temple at Nimrd (Mallowan 1966 I: 81). These conclusions, however, should be taken cautiously and treated as speculations for the time being.

The Ninurta and arrat-niphi temple complexes represent other important building projects undertaken by Ar-nsir-apli II at Kalhu citadel, as discussed in the previous chapter.⁴⁴ Even though the construction of the ziqqurat immediately north of the Ninurta Sanctuary is mainly associated with ulmnu-aard III, the foundation of the two adjacent temple complexes are securely dated to Ar-nsir-apli II by the help of inscriptions found in the sanctuaries. Massive human-headed, winged lions with inscriptions and orthostats depicting three registers of winged genies flanked the entrance of the Room 4 from the Ninurta courtyard, and two inscribed lions were found at the entrance of the arrat-niphi sanctuary (Reade 2002b: figures 31 and 41, respectively).⁴⁵ The obverse lion inscription refers to these gateway figures as "... (replicas of) lions [UR.MAH.ME] in white limestone [NA4 *pili* BABBAR-*e*] (and) *partu*-alabaster [NA4 *parte*] stationed at their doors" (Grayson 1991:A.0.101.28, line 12). A large inscribed limestone stele ("Great Monolith") was found outside the entrance to the Sanctuary B.⁴⁶ The façade of this northern sanctuary in the Ninurta temple complex, facing a large cultic courtyard, was apparently decorated with inscribed and carved orthostats, depicting the god Ninurta chasing the Anzu-bird (Figure 42) (Reade 2002b: 169). The interior spaces in the Ninurta sanctuaries were decorated with wall paintings (Rooms 4/a,b,c), while the doorways between them were consolidated with carved and inscribed orthostats, featuring apotropaic imagery. It is clear from the available archaeological evidence that Ar-nsir-apli II's building program was on an urban scale. The architecture of the temples, the palace, and the city walls benefited from the newly opened stone quarries in the hinterland of Kalhu and the new technologies of stone masonry that developed on an unprecedented scale the production of not only monumental gateway sculpture but also orthostats used in palatial and cultic contexts. Such flourishing of the use of cut-stone masonry, especially in the form of orthostats in the new Assyrian city, should then be considered in the cultural context of a wider geography.

Upright Stones: The Long-Term History of an Architectural Technique

In a 1957 article titled “Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian art,” Hans G. Güterbock remarked that “the art of Ashurnasirpal II is so mature that it cannot be a beginning,” and pointed out the Middle Assyrian tradition of pictorial narrative representation, especially manifest in wall paintings, glazed brick decoration, symbol socles and a series of civic monuments in stone referred as “obelisks” in the scholarly literature (Güterbock 1957: 65, and n. 20–21).⁴⁷ However, considering the problem of the Nimrd orthostats as a building technique, he considered the idea of an exchange of architectural traditions between the Assyrian and the Late Hittite cities, with the possibility that Aur-nasir-apli II might have appropriated the technique from north Syria, a region that appeared to be the heir of the Late Bronze Age building technologies of imperial Hittite cities, but he cautiously added that such “assumption would rest on an *argumentum ex silentio*” (Güterbock 1957: 66). In the meantime, J. David Hawkins's exhaustive study of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Iron Age revised the chronology of the building programs in the Syro-Hittite cities, linking local Luwian dynasties of Karkami and Malizi/Melid to the imperial Hittite dynasty in Hattua.⁴⁸ This corpus of epigraphic evidence made it clear that several of the earliest Syro-Hittite sculpted orthostat programs, such as the Lion Gate at Malatya and the Suhis-Katuwas dynasty building program at Karkami, among others, predated the earliest Assyrian reliefs by “a clear margin” (Hawkins 1972: 106). Scholars of Assyrian art were therefore increasingly convinced that “Ashurnasirpal, in using stone, was influenced by what he had seen and heard described in Syria, where the Hittite tradition of carving the stone footings of mudbrick walls had never entirely lapsed” (Reade 1979a: 17). Similarly, Irene Winter addresses this issue in her discussion of the mechanics of interaction between Assyria and the Syro-Hittite states. According to Winter, this interaction involved a multi-directional exchange of artisanal knowledge. But she also suggested that architectural borrowings between Assyrians and the Syro-Hittite states had complex ideological and cultural discourses hidden in them; it was never solely a matter of borrowing a building technique (Winter 1993: 32 and Winter 1982: 356).⁴⁹ In a thorough article that presented a new interpretation of the “White Obelisk” from Nnuwa, Holly Pittman (1996) surveyed the development of historical narrative in Assyria prior to Ar-nsir-apli II from extant archaeological and literary evidence. She argued that the Assyrian interest in representing

pictorial narratives was richly – even if fragmentarily – illustrated in Middle Assyrian evidence, as exemplified by the “White Obelisk” itself. The relationship between the symbolically charged use of stone and the development of historical narratives in the Middle Assyrian urban monuments was highlighted and it will further be discussed later in this chapter.

The most important problem with all of these interpretations is that orthostats and the pictorial imagery that are carved on them are assumed to have existed together from the very beginning and could not be conceptualized separately. Archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the use of upright slabs as pictorial fields of relief carving is a respectively later (i.e., Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age) development in northern Syria, Assyria, and Anatolia; but the use of orthostats as an architectural technique on monumental walls went back to the very beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in the Near East (ca. 2000 BCE). It is precisely this transformation that is going to be pursued here.

The history of Syria in the Middle Bronze Age, which runs roughly from the beginnings of the second millennium BCE to the military campaign of Murili I into north Syria at the beginning of sixteenth century BCE, is elusive because of the fragmentary nature of archaeological evidence and the complexity of textual information that comes from several sites inside and outside Syria (Klengel 1992: 39–49) (Figure 52). The kingdom of Mari in the Middle Euphrates, especially under Yahdun-Lim (c. 1810 BCE), and the short lived Assyrian territorial state under Ilim-ma-dana I (c. 1813–1781 BCE) that expanded to the Habur and the Middle Euphrates presumably influenced the political and cultural climate of northwest Syrian kingdoms like Yamhad, Qatna, and Karkam. and important urban centers like Ebla (Tell Mardikh) and Alalah (Tell Atchana) in the first half of the Middle Bronze Age (Kuhrt 1995 I: 98–102). In the second half of the Middle Bronze Age, however, textual sources especially from Mari, Alalah, and Hattua (Boazköy) suggest that the “Great Kings” of Yamhad represented the strongest territorial power in Syria until the Hittite kings Hattusili I (1650–1620 BCE) and Murili I (1620–1590 BCE) campaigned effectively into north Syria (Bryce 1998: 75–89 and 102–105). Excavations primarily at the sites of Tell Mardikh, Aleppo citadel, Tell Atchana, and Tilmen Höyük provide the earliest evidence for the use of orthostats in urban contexts, and suggest the flourishing nature of architectural traditions in northwest Syria in the Middle Bronze Age.

It has recently been argued that Ebla of the Middle Bronze I (Mardikh IIIA) was “built in relatively short period of time” as a planned monumental project, an urban foundation that sealed off the remains of the Early Bronze Age IVB (Mardikh IIB) levels after a short hiatus (Pinnock 2001: 22; Matthiae 1997: 380).⁵⁰ This involved the construction of two sets of fortifications, one for the citadel and the other for the lower town, the palatial and temple complexes on the citadel, and a belt of public buildings immediately around the citadel (Figure 53). Several architectural/artisanal innovations are identified in the construction of these buildings, including the widespread use of finely dressed stone slabs in many public buildings. In the Southwest (“Damascus”) Gate of the lower city in Area A, finely dressed basalt and limestone orthostats of about 1.80 m. in height lined the walls of the inner and outer gate structures, which were then tightly connected with a trapezoidal hall (Figures 54 and 55).⁵¹ The basalt revetments consolidated the protruding three-pier and two-pier, and limestone was used in the facing of inner rooms/recesses. Orthostats were raised on slightly protruding ashlar foundations (Matthiae 1981a: 121). Such overall architectural design and construction technology are attested in the gate buildings of Syria and the Levant at this time period and are understood as distinctive features of Middle Bronze Age architectural practices in the region.⁵² A headless, seated basalt statue, wearing a peculiar “*kaunakés*” or a thick cloak, was found near the inner gateway and dated by Matthiae to possibly the twentieth century BCE.⁵³ Both the monumental design and tectonic quality of the gate, as well as its association with a royal/cult statue, suggest that the gate had a ceremonial character in the urban landscape of Ebla. Considering the later appearance of similar gate structures with ceremonial function, comparable architectural designs and full-fledged visual narrative programs in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Anatolia and Syria, it may be possible to argue that earlier examples of this particular urban feature are attested in the Syrian *koine* of Middle Bronze Age sites.⁵⁴

Temple D on the Western edge of the Ebla citadel, which was also built toward the beginning of Mardikh IIIA, has an axial plan with a longitudinal cult room as well as a vestibule and a porch. The doorways of the temple were consolidated with monumental orthostatic blocks culminating with a cult niche on the symmetrical axis (Matthiae 1997: figure 14.1). The main cult chamber itself features a low limestone socle, faced with well-dressed ashlar blocks, and it was presumably paved with basalt blocks. However, the use of

high wall socle with ashlar masonry is perhaps best illustrated by the Monument P3, a massive cult-platform (52.5 m by 42 m) in the lower town area, sacred to Itar, immediately northwest of the citadel. The three courses of roughly hewn large limestone blocks that are used for the facing of the inner court (23m by 12.5 m) is reminiscent of the stone masonry of monumental buildings in the much later Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the imperial Hittite cities of the Anatolian plateau (Matthiae 1997: 391). The use of finely dressed orthostats is also widely attested in the contemporaneous palace complexes excavated at Ebla, especially the better preserved Western palace in Area Q to the west of the citadel (possibly the palace of the crown prince).⁵⁵ Most of the preserved northern and southeast façades of the Western palace were lined with orthostats (with a height of 1.50 m) raised on top of two to three courses of finely worked ashlar socle. In addition, certain privileged spaces and doorways were consolidated with ashlar upright slabs (Matthiae 1997: 384). The monumentalized double columned in-antis entrance to the palace complex which is repeated in the main reception hall⁵⁶ are significant aspects of the flourishing Middle Bronze Age palace design which are used into the Iron Age in north Syria, and eventually associated with the ceremonial *bt hilni* structures of the time period (see discussion that follows). A spectacular basalt stele – presumably dedicated to Itar (150 cm in height, 45 cm width at the base) – was excavated in fragmentary situation in and near the Temple D on the citadel.⁵⁷ Carved on all four sides in regular registers (three to five each) with scenes of mythological and cultic events reminds one of the later similar public monuments such as the Late Hittite steles from *spekçür* in the Malatya region (late eleventh century BCE) or the Middle Assyrian obelisks. It is worthwhile to point out that the iconography of this stele as well as that of a series of sculpted basalt and limestone lustral basins from the Middle Bronze temples B1, D, and N at Ebla,⁵⁸ may have close affinities with the iconography of the earliest Late Bronze Age carved orthostats that are known to have been developed later in this region, especially at Karkam., Halab/Aleppo, and Ain Dara, and also at Alacahöyük in the Anatolian plateau.

One of the most essential gaps in the archaeology of Syria for the Middle Bronze Age has been the lack of archaeological investigations in the city of Halab (Aleppo), which has been rightly identified with the capital city of Yamhad. According to the literary sources from Mari, Hattua, and Alalah, the great kingdom of Yamhad had established a powerful territorial state in the second quarter of the second millennium BCE in north Syria on the western side of the Euphrates all the way to the Mediterranean, and important city states

like Alalah, Emar, and Ebla acted as vassal states to Yamhad.⁵⁹ Since 1996, excavations have been carried out by the joint Syrian-German archaeological team at the citadel of Aleppo in a limited area because of the dense building fabric of the citadel, and the researchers located a Middle Bronze Age temple on a massive scale and its early first millennium rebuilding (Khayyatta and Kohlmeyer 2000).⁶⁰ Based on the prominent location of the structure in the topography of the citadel, its massive size (its cult room possibly ca. 26.65 m. in width), and the relief program on the early first millennium orthostats that were uncovered so far, the excavators identified the building as the textually well-known temple of the Weather/Storm God (Teub) of Halab (Khayyatta and Kohlmeyer 1998: 94; Kohlmeyer 2000b: 116–117) (Figures 6 and 7). The northern and western walls of the early second millennium temple are lined with finely dressed uncarved limestone orthostats (1.2 m in height) raised above an ashlar foundation, reminiscent in its workmanship of the Southwest gate at Ebla (Figure 7). The orthostats have consistently small circular dowel holes or mortises on their top surfaces, presumably used to receive wooden tenons with molten lead fixing, to attach it to the timber beams above and thus to the rest of the wall structure (Hult 1983: 79).⁶¹ This feature is attested in almost all of our Middle Bronze Age paradigms including Ebla's Southwest gate and at Tilmen Höyük and Alalah palaces (see later discussion) and it seems to be a predominant feature of Middle–Late Bronze and Early Iron Age orthostats.⁶² The line of orthostats are interrupted by large ashlar blocks midway on the northern wall where a colossal cult niche (7.85 m wide) is created – this is a common aspect of the early second millennium temples in Syria. The floor of the temple was also paved with stone slabs and on the top of this surface at least three layers of gypsum plaster are identified (Khayyatta and Kohlmeyer 2000: 735). Lebanese cedar and oak had been used for the timber elements of the construction. The excavation reports concerning the precise stratigraphy and absolute dating of the several rebuilding phases of the temple demonstrate convincingly that the earliest temple with uncarved orthostats must date to somewhere at the beginning of the second millennium BCE, and reconstructions of the temple are continuous throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, with considerable amounts of spoliation and recarving of the stone slabs in these later phases. Spoliation, which is the reuse of architectural elements of former buildings in new constructions, becomes a symbolic practice in the Early and Middle Iron Ages especially in the case of carved orthostats.

Even though archaeology has not yet informed us to look for upright slabs at any palace or gate architecture at Middle Bronze

Halab, two sites in the territory of Yamhad at that period fill this gap: Alalah (Tell Atchana) to the west and Tilmen Höyük to the north. Ashlar orthostats were used both in the Northeast Gate building and the palatial complex associated with Tell Atchana Level VII. Building activities related to this particular stratum at Tell Atchana is usually associated with the last phase of Middle Bronze IIB, and the historical ruler Yarim-Lim of Alalah.⁶³ The gate is a well-planned three-pier gate, flanked by two monumental towers and quite similar in plan with the inner (northeast) portion of Ebla's southwest gate. Both the piers along the passageway and the two façades of the gate building are consolidated with finely worked whitish limestone orthostats at the dado level to a height of approximately 1.60 m and a thickness of 50 cm. Horizontal timber beams on top of the orthostats were also preserved (Woolley 1955: 145–155 and [figure 55](#)). The Level VII palace (built on three successive terraces to the north/northeast of the high mound) featured “polished basalt orthostats with fine plaster above” in the northern public sector including Rooms 1–13 with Reception Suite 5 and Ceremonial Court 9.⁶⁴ The reception hall is separated into two main spaces by a row of four timber posts. The orthostats varied in height between 40–90 cm, bore heavy horizontal timber beams, and rested on a low plinth of coarsely worked ashlar blocks. A stone-lined shaft was excavated in Room 17, where three courses of finely dressed ashlar with slanted vertical joints formed a dado level protection for the mudbrick wall. Basalt column bases for timber columns as well as fragments of wall frescoes were found in the palace (Woolley 1955: 224–234 and plates 36–39).

At Tilmen Höyük, a sizable Middle Bronze settlement 75 km north of Aleppo on the eastern bank of the Karasu river valley, a palace complex of comparable architectonic sophistication was excavated by Ulu Bahadır Alkım and his team between 1958 and 1964 and 1969 to 1971 ([Figures 56–59](#)).⁶⁵ Level IIC₁ in Tilmen Höyük's stratigraphic sequence (provisionally dated by Alkım to eighteenth to seventeenth centuries BCE) marked with the construction of a monumental palace on the high mound, the establishment of a large lower town and the construction of a casemate fortification system for the citadel and the lower town including several gate structures.⁶⁶ The palace structure was built on the southwestern edge of the citadel and approached through Citadel Gate K-5, which, because of the steep topography, features a monumental public staircase. The entrance to the palace is through a well-planned stone-paved plaza, perhaps serving as an outer ceremonial court, where the outer face of the palace walls are lined with basalt orthostats of monumental size and very fine finishing.⁶⁷ The orthostats of varying width and height (ca. 33–45 cm in thickness,

72–90 cm in height) were raised on roughly worked ashlar foundations and a low plinth (25 cm in height) above ground level, and carried circular mortises on their top surface (Figure 51). Burnt mudbrick found during the excavations proved that the superstructure of the walls were primarily in mudbrick, rising high in two floor levels (Alkm 1962b: 460). The complex has a clear plan with an official sector and a private sector and – in the same way as the Alalah palace – the walls of the entire official sector were consolidated with orthostats. Room 4, which overlooked the southern edge of the citadel, was apparently the main reception hall with its four columned monumental size and exceptional tectonic qualities. In the geometric center of the north wall and the central axis of the central aisle created by the columns, a throne façade arrangement is attested in the form of a rabbeted protrusion of finely dressed and tall basalt blocks.

It is evident in the archaeological evidence from the early second millennium BCE levels of the four exemplified sites in north Syria that uncarved orthostats and finely dressed ashlar masonry were used as prestigious architectural technologies that lined important public buildings, primarily the temples, the city gates, and finally the public sectors and urban façades of the palaces. This regional development in building technology is only part of a complex series of building practices in the region narrowly defined in the Trans-Euphratene in north Syria from Tell Mardikh to Tilmen Höyük.⁶⁸ Shared construction techniques are accompanied by significant similarities in the architectural design of urban ensembles such as the three-pier gate structures, overall design of temples, and ceremonial/reception sectors of palatial residences, which Paulo Matthiae has cumulatively referred as the “Old Syrian architectural tradition” (Matthiae 2002).⁶⁹ Durable and good quality stone, innovatively articulated into ashlar and orthostatic format by the artisans of the ruling elite, and used in urban monumental contexts initially for environmental reasons, eventually gained a symbolic significance as elements of conspicuous display and transformed into a form of cultural expression.⁷⁰

The finely dressed orthostatic masonry techniques of the Middle Bronze Age urban landscapes constituted a symbolically charged technological style that gave shape and meaning to the urban spaces. On the foundations of this architectural technology, in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the orthostatic wall surfaces were transformed into surfaces of pictorial representation in relief with the incorporation of cult images and mythological and state narratives.

With the distinguishable inter-regionalism of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean zones of contact and the ever increasing material interests of Near Eastern supra-regional powers such as Hittites, Egyptians, Hurrians, and Assyrians in Syria during this period, the *koine* of stone masonry subsequently encompassed the Anatolian Plateau, the Levantine coast and Cyprus in particular, but also eventually reached the Middle Tigris cities of Assyria. By the end of the Late Bronze Age, the major entrepreneurial cities of the Eastern Mediterranean, like Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and Ras Ibn Hani in the Syrian coast, Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke on the Eastern coast of Cyprus, and the Hittite cities of the Anatolian plateau like the capital Hattua, and its regional centers like apinuwa (Ortaköy) and aria (Kukl) participated in the inter-regional architectural practice of using finely dressed ashlar and orthostatic masonry in large quantities.⁷¹ This was carried out on such an extensive and monumental scale in these urban environments that it is reminiscent of what William MacDonald has argued for the Roman cities of the Mediterranean: an “urban armature,” in reference to the complex material manifestation of building technologies forming “the framework for the unmistakable imagery of imperial urbanism” (MacDonald 1986: 5). It can be argued that this was possible not only by means of an operative circulation of architectural knowledge and other artisanal technologies across these regions (via gift exchange and mobility of craftsmen, among others),⁷² but also in the form of material manifestoes of the ruling elite to express royal prestige and cultural interest in the lingua franca of building practices in stone.⁷³ Andrew and Susan Sherratt's (2001: 20) recent argument that “added value” was created within such urbanized “technologically more advanced centers of manufacturing,” can perhaps be applied to the stone-working technologies of northern Syria, where cultural value of the monumental use of stone in Near Eastern architecture is reconfigured with the introduction of limestone and basalt orthostats.

The Hittite interest in the north Syrian region, especially directed to the kingdom of Yamhad dates back to the military campaigns of Hattuli I and Murili I in the late seventeenth and early sixteenth century BCE, but only two centuries later upuliliuma I (1344–1322 BCE) consolidated the territorial power of the Hittite empire over this region, with his appointment of his own son arri-kuuh (Piyaili) as a viceroy ruler at Karkam. and also Telipinu at Aleppo, presumably as a priest of the Storm God Teub of Halab (Bryce 1998: 75–102; 195).⁷⁴ The prosperous city of Karkami then became the main center of Hittite presence in north Syria and the Hittite dynasty here survived the destruction of Hattua at the end of the Bronze Age.

The fourteenth and thirteenth centuries in north Syria and Hittite Anatolia provide abundant archaeological evidence for sculpted orthostat programs, mainly associated with temples and city-gates. The impressive and characteristically unique citadel-gate at the imperial Hittite city at Alacahöyük excavated by Theodore Macridy in 1906–1907 is perhaps the earliest narrative program in such scale, even though the date of its construction is debated.⁷⁵ The gate's double passageway is flanked by colossal guardian sculpture in the form of andesite monolithic sphinxes, comparable to the gate sculpture at the Upper City at Hattua and the unfinished basalt sphinxes of Yesemek quarry near Tilmen Höyük. On either side of the entrance, however, the outer and inner façades of the casemate walls have a series of andesite ashlar blocks carved with scenes depicting a particular sacrificial festival and scenes of hunting.⁷⁶ The sculpted architectural blocks are fitted together in at least three courses in a finely bonded cyclopean technique, which is not familiar to us from the north Syrian Late Bronze or Iron Age sites.⁷⁷ Apart from its well-known monumental gate sculpture, the thirteenth century Upper City temples of Hattua exhibit an even more sophisticated version of cyclopean/coursed ashlar masonry in combination with uncarved orthostats. There we see not only megalithic wall socles with oblique or crotched and finely fitted joints, but also finely dressed orthostats (Hult 1983: 42–43). Hattua stone blocks were never worked to form flat and dull surfaces, but usually given a smooth three-dimensionality with bulging and pillow-like surfaces, creating a very distinctive tectonic aesthetics. For instance, Temple V, which stands in one of the major cult complexes of the Upper City, is connected with an ancestor cult and was built at the time of Tudhaliya IV (1235–1216 BCE), and includes well-dressed orthostats (1.80 m in height) raised on ashlar plinths and lined the northern and eastern façades of the temple as well as in a cult-room (Neve 1993a: 34–37, Abb. 93 and 96; Naumann 1971: 76). According to Neve's reconstruction, a relief orthostat of Tudhaliya IV was raised above this orthostatic level at a column in House A, which served as one of the ancestor-cult buildings in the same sanctuary (Neve 1993a: Abb. 100–103; Neve 1993b: 114–115). It seems possible to argue that the flourishing of this masonry and sculptural tradition under the patronage of Hittite kings especially in the last two centuries of the Late Bronze Age should be associated in general terms with the Hittite participation in the architectural *koine* of the Eastern Mediterranean, and in particular in relation to the intense Hittite involvement with north Syria during that period.

Appropriation of Representationality: The

Transition to the Early Iron Age in North Syria

Recent excavations in the two north Syrian sites, namely Ain Dr. and Aleppo citadel has further illuminated not only the early formation of the sculpted orthostat programs in cultic contexts but has also shed light on the problematic cultural transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age in the region. These two monuments were discussed briefly in [Chapter 3](#). At the Late Bronze–Iron Age settlement on Tell Ain Dr. (ca. 40 km northwest of Aleppo), a monumental temple to Itar-awuka was excavated in 1980–1985 (Figures 4 and 5) (Ab. Assaf 1990). The building was decorated with an impressive sculptural program in basalt and limestone. The director of the excavations, Ab. Assaf identified at least three building phases in the history of the building, mostly based on its program of architectural sculpture, extending from 1300–740 BCE.⁷⁸ The earliest temple, presumably founded sometime in the Late Bronze Age, features a good example of north Syrian temple plan: it is raised on a limestone platform with a monumental double-columnar entrance, an ante-cella and a main cult-room. The architectonic features of the temple are better understood for the slightly later second phase, when carved steles, orthostats, and decorated architectural members were introduced to the corpus of the temple construction.⁷⁹ The architectural sculpture of the temple present several innovations, including cultic reliefs, orthostats inlaid with guilloche patterns, and several architectural members, such as staircases carved with guilloche patterns in relief (Figures 4–5). The temple combines limestone and basalt to form a striking overall material contrast between the tectonic members in limestone and sculptural elements in basalt. The last phase of the temple in the Early Iron Age introduced a corridor-like processional platform all around the cella and a series of basalt stelae erected on limestone bases, as well as lion and sphinx orthostats and protomes decorated all around the façade of the temple. Two stone quarries in the form of sculptural workshops that produced orthostats and gate sculpture in the north Syrian region have been investigated so far, one at Yesemek and the other at Skzlar near the modern Turkish Syria border. Both of the basalt quarries revealed extensive evidence that such regional stone-working workshops operated intensively to supply the demands of nearby cities for monumental sculpture and orthostat programs from the Late Bronze Age well into the Middle Iron Age (Alkm 1974; Mazzoni 1987).

This transition from the use of plain orthostats to line the walls of

monumental structures to the incorporation of complex relief programs on the orthostat surfaces is perhaps best illustrated by the Temple of the Weather God of Halab (also known as Halabean Tarhunzas or the Storm God), recently excavated on the Aleppo citadel. There, excavators Kay Kohlmeyer and Walid Khayyata inform us that the continuity of architectural traditions from the plain-orthostated Middle Bronze Age temple to its Early Iron Age reconstruction with an impressive relief sequence on its orthostats, is confirmed by the spoliated Late Bronze Age orthostat blocks that bore relief representations in the Imperial Hittite style (Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998; Kohlmeyer 2000a and 2000b). Therefore, I argue that spoliation should be understood as a socio-symbolic practice that contributes to the continuity of architectural technologies and the symbolically charged visual culture associated with them: a material practice of reflecting on history.

Several eloquent sculptural programs are known to us from Syro-Hittite urban contexts such as Malatya, Zincirli, and Karatepe-Arslanta, and the idea that the city-gate was a ritually strategic, ceremonially significant part of the urban sacred and political landscape and construed collectively as a liminal space to be protected for the well-being of the city. The archaeological evidence from Early Iron Age Karkam offers a nearly complete picture of how these orthostat programs transformed the cityscape into a coherent spatial narrative (as discussed in detail in the previous chapter). The entire public space in this sense is exuberantly animated with the line of often alternating basalt and limestone orthostats with monumental inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian and commemorative pictorial scenes of military and cultic subject matter.

The evidence from monumental urban temples of Aleppo and the Ain Dara, ceremonial gate structures at Alacahöyük, Karkami and Malatya suggest that the introduction of relief representational sequences in the form of complex pictorial narratives was principally associated with cultic performances and urban cult festivals, at least during the Late Bronze Age. I would argue that these festivals usually related to powerful supra-regional cults such as Tarhunzas/Storm God of the Syro-Hittite world or Ninurta in Assyria, whose religious ideology were always enmeshed with ideologies of the ruling elite and state ceremonialism. This idea is strongly supported by the fact that, especially in Kalhu and Karkami, the orthostat programs eventually became a domain of historical commemorations of the ruling elite during the Early Iron Age as much as they maintained their cultic and

mythopoetical significance. In my opinion, what we see in this process is a political appropriation of a medium of representation from localized ritual contexts. The cultic and ritual significance of carved orthostats in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages was incrementally appropriated by the state apparatus and mobilized toward displaying official narratives of the state in public spaces throughout the Iron Age.

To illustrate this political appropriation of orthostats more concretely, I would like to return to an inscription of Katuwas from Karkami that was discussed in the previous chapter. This is a basalt door jamb inscription from the King's Gate that commemorates the construction of the TAWANI-apartments of the gate, which apparently was embellished with orthostats (Hawkins 2000 I.1: 95–96; Text II.9. KARKAMI A11a [A8]).

4.13 And these gates (of) my grand-fathers passed down to me

4.14 When I built the holies of the temple (OR: the Holy (one)'s temple)

4.15 these orthostats “came after” me,

4.16 these gates I “orthostated”

4.17 they were foremost in(?) cost(?) (very costly?)

4.18 I built them (also) with wood

4.19 and these *upper floors* for Anas my beloved wife as TAWANI-apartments I made...

The word translated here as “orthostat” by David Hawkins is *kuttaar* ([SCALPRUM] *ku-ta-sa₅ + ra*). This word is associated with Hittite *kutt-*, “wall” while *kuttesar*, a Luwoid word for “wall, walling” also attested in Boazköy texts (Melchert 1993: 113). Following Hawkins's translation, the context makes it perfectly clear that here it is used for orthostats, the “overturning” of which was cursed later in the same inscription. Orthostats appear in this text not simply as components of an outstanding architectural ensemble but as personified powerful agents who bolstered the king's sociopolitical power. Moreover, their cultural power and their social significance are not tied solely to the pictorial and textual narratives inscribed on them. Their efficacy derives precisely from their materiality, their architectonic disposition in the form of a prestigious technology. The cumulative evidence suggests that the transformation of such orthostatic surfaces into surfaces of representation and surfaces of performativity coincides

precisely with the production of urban spaces in the Early Iron Age, the comprehensive program of new urban foundations. Complex narrative schemes of the Early Iron Age monumental projects built their significance over the previously existing practice and the tectonic culture of raising orthostats as a symbolic technology.

In conclusion, from this cumulative evidence, it seems reasonable to argue that the making of orthostatic surfaces into surfaces of representation and surfaces of performativity coincides precisely with the production of urban spaces in the Early Iron Age. These building projects relied on the existing practice of building with orthostats as a symbolic technology. However, the articulation of the relief representations in a complex mixture of historical commemorations, state ceremonies, and ritual spectacles that continuously refer to a mythopoetical past, appear to be a striking innovation of Early Iron Age artisans in Assyria and Syro-Hittite cities. Moving from the Syro-Hittite cultural sphere to Assyria, the next section considers the textual evidence from the Early Iron Age, to understand the emergence of orthostats in close relation to the rise and articulation of historical commemorations and the contemporaneous Assyrian exposure to interregional contact with the west.

Tukult-Apil-Earra (Tiglath-Pileser) I: Middle Assyrian Orthostats and the Idea of Commemoration

Turning time back to Assyria to find textual evidence for the use of orthostats and gate sculpture in the Early Iron Age, one finds the rich corpus of Tukult-apil-earra I (Tiglath-pileser)'s annals. Tukult-apil-earra's reign (1114–1076 BCE) stands as an important period in the later section of Middle Assyrian history not only in terms of the political expansion of Assyrian presence in Upper Mesopotamia but also because of a series of innovations in the cultural sphere.⁸⁰ It was during the time of this king that the writing of the *annals* on clay cylinders and prisms were crystallized, and the military expeditions were presented in this new narrative format in chronological order and accompanied by the accounts of royal hunts and building activities.⁸¹ From his annals, it is known that he has extensively campaigned to the west and the north. In his campaign to the land of Amurru (Phoenicia) during which he crossed the Euphrates, he defeated the so-called *Ahlamû*-Aramaeans (Schwartz 1989: 277), ritually “washed his weapons” in the Upper Sea (Mediterranean),

felled logs of cedar from the Cedar Mountain, and imposed tribute over Ini-Teub of Karkami, king of Hatti (Tadmor 1999: 56 and Hawkins 1982: 380). During his expeditions to the north and west, Tukult-apil-earra I went twice to the city of Melid (Malatya) – once during his return from the land of Dayeni (fourth campaign) and the second time during his return from his Mediterranean – and received tribute from the king Allumari (Hawkins 2000 I.1: 283). His annals provide solid evidence that the king had seen the Syro-Hittite cities in existence in the early eleventh century BCE, including Melid and Karkami with their flourishing orthostat programs.

In a remarkable text restored from a number of clay and stone tablets and a clay prism excavated from Aur, Tukult-apil-earra I describes his reconstruction of the *bt ahru* and *bt labbnu* of a cultic complex. Among the variety of details concerning their architectural technology, he claims to have provided stone revetment for these cult rooms and gate sculpture⁸²:

- 62 ...with this (same) cedar wood, I constructed those *bt ahru* from
foundations to crenellations
63 I surrounded it all around with slabs of basalt. *Bt labbnu*, opposite
to it,
64 I constructed of terebinth from foundations to crenellations. With
slabs of limestone
65 I surrounded it all around. This palace of cedar
66 and terebinth I constructed, completed perfectly and made its
appropriate decor splendid.
67 a *nahiru*, which means a sea-horse, with a *pariangu* (harpoon?) of
my own making
68 which by the command of the gods *Ninurta* and *Nergal*, great gods,
my lords, in the [Great] Sea
69 [of the land of A]murru, I killed; and a live *burhi*, which was
transported from the land of Luma
70 ...the other side of the land *Habhu*. I made their representations in
basalt
71 I stationed them on the right and left [at my ro]yal [entrance].
(Grayson 1991: 38–45; Text A.0.87.4)

This is a very rich text in terms of its unusually explicit references to the metaphorical quality of building practice and the way it links colonized landscapes with architectural projects at home. Later in the same text, the king refers to another palace, of boxwood this time,

which he surrounds with slabs of *ginugallu* stone and within which he deposits his royal inscriptions. From the variety of stones that are being used in these monumental buildings and from the implication that they were conspicuously displayed, the *agurru* can be understood here as orthostats.⁸³ Even more interesting is the description of the apotropaic sculpture that is erected at a royal entrance; basalt replicas of exotic monsters a *nahiru* and a *burhi*. These are live acquisitions of the hunter king's campaigns in foreign territories, and they are reproduced in *basalt*, a stone that is not found easily around Aur and had to be imported (Moorey 1994: 345–346; Stol 1979: 83–88). A significant number of basalt fragments of animal sculptures and inscribed slabs of Tukult-apil-earra I were excavated at Aur during Walter Andrae's expedition at the site of the king's palace in 1905.⁸⁴ One of the now-lost inscriptions from this collection was edited by Grayson (1991: 62–63, text A.O.87. 17) and reads:

(Property of) the palace of Tiglath-[pileser, king of] Assyria, conqueror [from] Babylon [of the Land of Akkad] to Mount Lebanon [to the Great] Sea [of the land Amurru and] the sea [of the land(s) Nairi, builder of] the cedar [palace].

The alternating use of limestone and basalt in particular, the idea of the gate sculpture in replication of animals that were victims of the king's royal hunt in the west, carved in *basalt* as they were in the west, and the historical context of the inscription suggests that Tukult-apil-earra I might be making references to the architectural technologies of the Syro-Hittite cities that he had visited in his campaigns. The text should be read as an ideological statement of the king, that expresses the incorporation of an architectural technique and material of a particular foreign cultural domain, into a building program that he initiates at the Assyrian capital, and should be understood along the same lines as later Assyrian kings who imported the *bt hilni*, an architectural feature emphasized to have come from north Syria. It is then possible to argue that Assyria was already participating in the architectural *koine* of building with orthostats, as much as the royal rhetorics that are shaped around its cultural significance in upper Mesopotamia in the making.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter aims to bring to the forefront the complexity of archaeological and literary evidence regarding commemorative monuments in upper Mesopotamia during the Iron Age and their interpretation in the relevant cross-cultural contexts. The practices of historical commemoration in buildings make use of socially recognized systems of representation, both textual and pictorial, and operate at a societal level of historical consciousness and collective memory. The monuments themselves, laden with cultural references and historical representations, make the space speak and create what was called “topographies of remembrance” (Jonker 1995) or “sites of memory” (Nora 1989). Repeated social practices that involve such public monuments, (temples during ritual activity, for example) maintain the mental maps of this historicized topography. Monuments often commemorate particular historical events of major sociopolitical significance and the narrative accounts of their representational program negotiate the conceptual relationship between society and history. However, as seen in several examples in the Ancient Near East, the erection of the monument itself, such as Ar-nsir-apli II's Northwest Palace or Katuwas's temple to Tarhunzas at Karkam, becomes a historically conspicuous event. Among other levels of meaning, they also commemorate their own making through the celebratory building inscriptions inscribed on them. The metaphorical language of monuments, therefore, is not limited to the pictorial and textual narratives that the monuments may offer. As it was argued throughout this discussion, construction materials and techniques and the tectonic aesthetics of buildings become part and parcel of the metaphorical vocabulary of architectural representation, and hence the case made for the early use of orthostats in a variety of contexts in the Near Eastern architecture.

Irene J. Winter once posed a difficult question regarding the Assyrian orthostatic tradition. What precisely is the fine distinction between supra-regional sharing of artisanal practices through the circulation of skilled knowledge, and the conscious borrowing of culturally significant foreign elements in a symbolically charged rhetorical gesture of the ruling elite (Winter 1993)? My argument here is that the Assyrian involvement in the architectural practice of building with orthostats should be read in various layers of meaning. The survey of the long-term development of orthostats in the context of Near Eastern architecture demonstrated that this construction technique not only changed in physical form and architectural context, but also in its cultural meanings in different regions and time periods. Nevertheless, it remained to be a component of prestigious architecture and commemorative monuments, therefore *its knowledge*

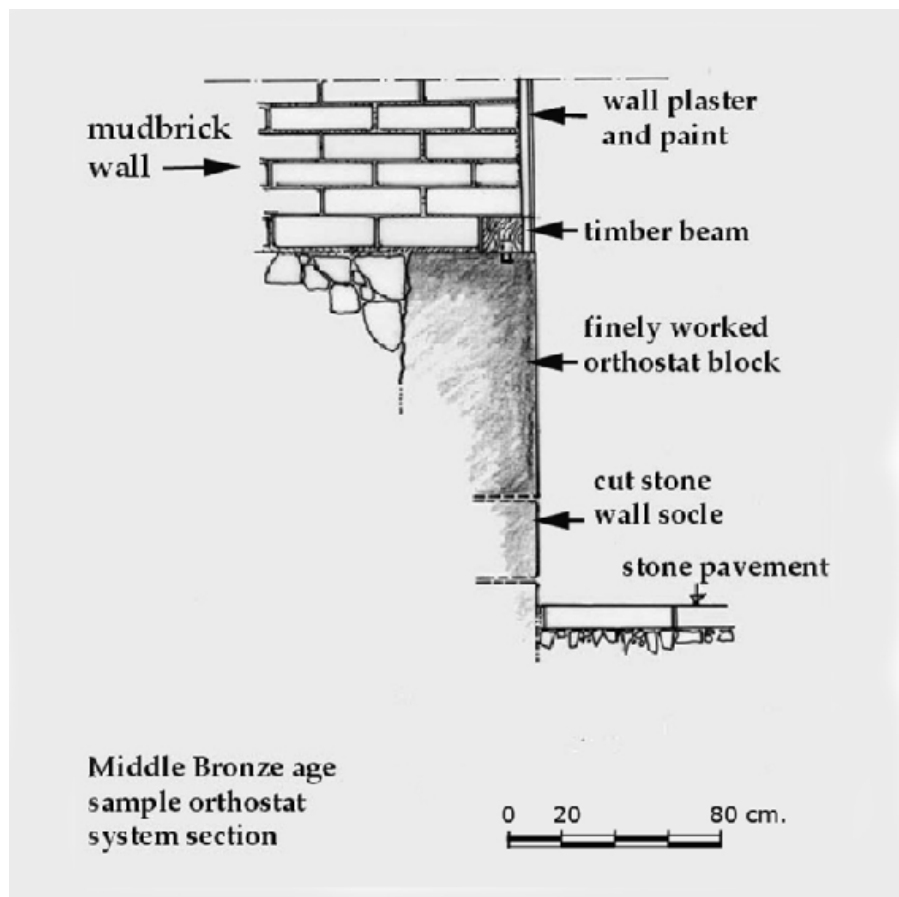
circulated cross-culturally and extra-regionally as a highly esteemed architectural technique. Assyria was an important participant in this *koine* of stone masonry, especially after the administrative center of the empire was shifted to the stone-rich environments of the Nnuwa-Kalhu region. The Assyrian contribution to the representational use of orthostats was spectacular, as duly discussed in scholarly literature. Archaeological and textual evidence demonstrate that Ar-nsir-apli II's reign certainly involved experimentations and innovations in building technology in the context of his foundation at Kalhu and his large-scale building projects. Otherwise, not only orthostats were known to Assyrian monarchs at latest from Tukult-apil-earra I onward, but also its symbolic significance was commented on. In the building accounts of Tukult-apil-earra I, the accomplishment of raising orthostats was presented as a symbolic capital (i.e., the material acquisition of a particularly prestigious resource material and the craftsmanship associated with it). The innovative moments in Assyrian history, such as the reigns of Tukult-apil-earra I and Ar-nsir-apli II, should be considered in the context of long-term supra-regional networks of cultural interaction and circulation of artisanal knowledge, as much as the shared power rhetorics among the ruling elites of regional polities. This therefore suggests that different rulers generated ideological statements concerning the cultural spoliation of construction techniques as innovative derivations, even if the artisanal practice was already in place prior to such statement. The reasons concerning why and how Ar-nsir-apli II initiated a sophisticated orthostatic program in the temple complexes of Ninurta and arrat-Niphi as well as the Northwest Palace at this particular moment in Assyrian history may have to do with his involvement with the Syro-Hittite realm, because, like Tukult-apil-earra I, his building policy seems to be receptive and responsive to the cross-cultural context of commemorative building practices. Nevertheless, it should also be understood in recognition with his cultural project that involved the construction of an entirely new capital city. In many ways, his Kalhu project is comparable to the Persian King Darius's building activity at the newly founded Persepolis, and the Roman emperor Augustus's comprehensive urban renewal project in Rome, where he was considered *pater urbis*.

One of the most fundamental issues addressed in architectural education is to make students aware that buildings are not abstract containers of space, but have complex structures with living bodies of construction material. As environmental conditions exert tectonic violence and long-term effects of weathering, the building fights back against the forces of deterioration and principally against time. Socles, orthostats, wall paintings, and other elements of weathering were not

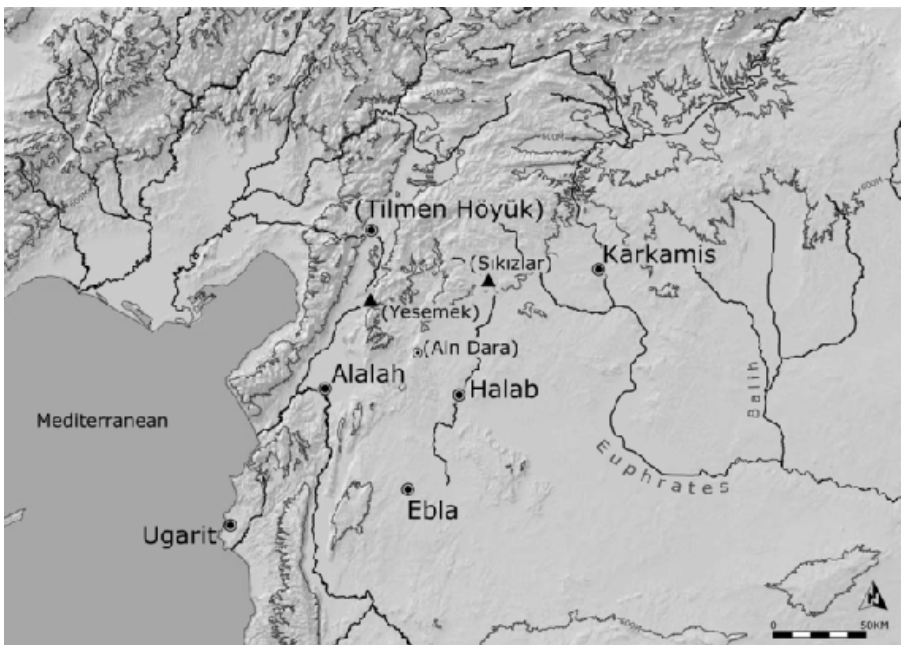
only structural aspects of buildings but also stood as most expressive surfaces in monumental buildings by means of their exquisite material and skilled workmanship. In architectural technology, the choice of distinct building materials, whether acquired from local resources or imported, and the reshaping of this raw material through the skill of the craftsman into a particular architectonic substance brought us to the very notion of *construction aesthetics*. If one were to accept that the urban image of the Ancient Near Eastern city depended heavily on this *appearance*, eminent from such tectonic culture and its own aesthetics of construction, it would be essential to bring the construction techniques into the discussions of urban form and its display culture.

Foundation of new cities in the Ancient Near Eastern world were ambitious building projects of the utopic kind and have been presented to us in the historical record as short-term, politically motivated events. To be successful, however, these projects depended heavily on corpuses of architectural knowledge and skilled craftsmanship accumulated in the long term. It is equally notable however that the site of any large-scale building project necessarily becomes a site of material elaboration and technological innovation and a place for the exchange of architectural knowledge. Building projects always maintain, or rather breed, the possibility of departing from long-term technological traditions, being open to innovative and creative use of materials and technologies. With these ideas in mind, I dwell on the architectural technology of carved orthostats in the context of Early Iron Age cities in Assyria and the Syro-Hittite world. Upright stones proved to have a long and curious cultural biography from the Middle Bronze Age onward. In the context of the Early Iron Age urbanization and landscape transformations, the idea of using orthostat surfaces as billboards of political and ritual narratives of the state was introduced as a shared innovation that dramatically animated the public and ritual spaces of the cities. The exchange of architectural knowledge about basalt and limestone orthostats between Assyria and the Syro-Hittite sphere seems to appear as an importation of an exotic cultural feature, once Assyria was seriously involved in the “Land of Hatti.” But the craftsmanship of orthostats, the specific architectural contexts in which they appear, types of stone used, the subject matter, and nature of pictorial imagery and monumental texts vary dramatically between different regions, perhaps as a matter of political contestation and deliberate differentiation between those regions. This complex nexus of local meanings and associations suggest to us the significance of the detailed study of specific technologies in ancient contexts, where it is not only the fancy representational surfaces that matter but also the

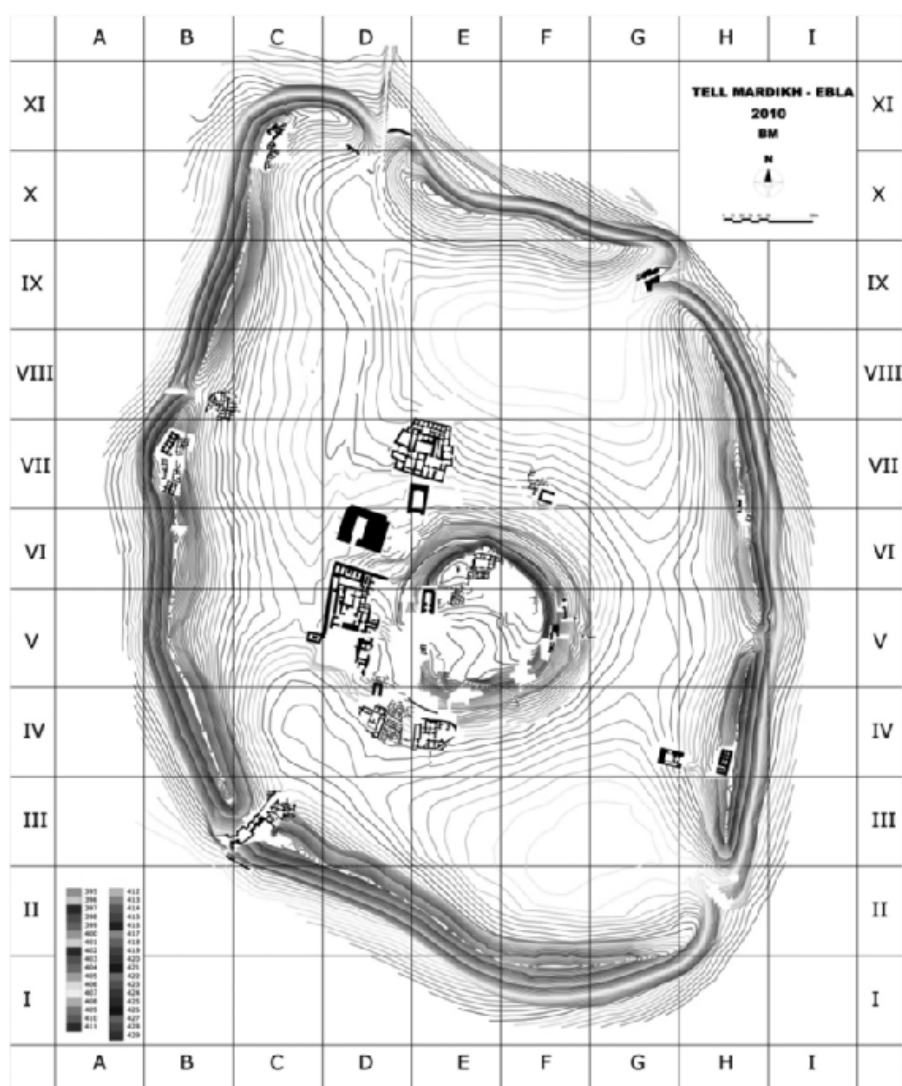
poetics of their tectonic materiality.



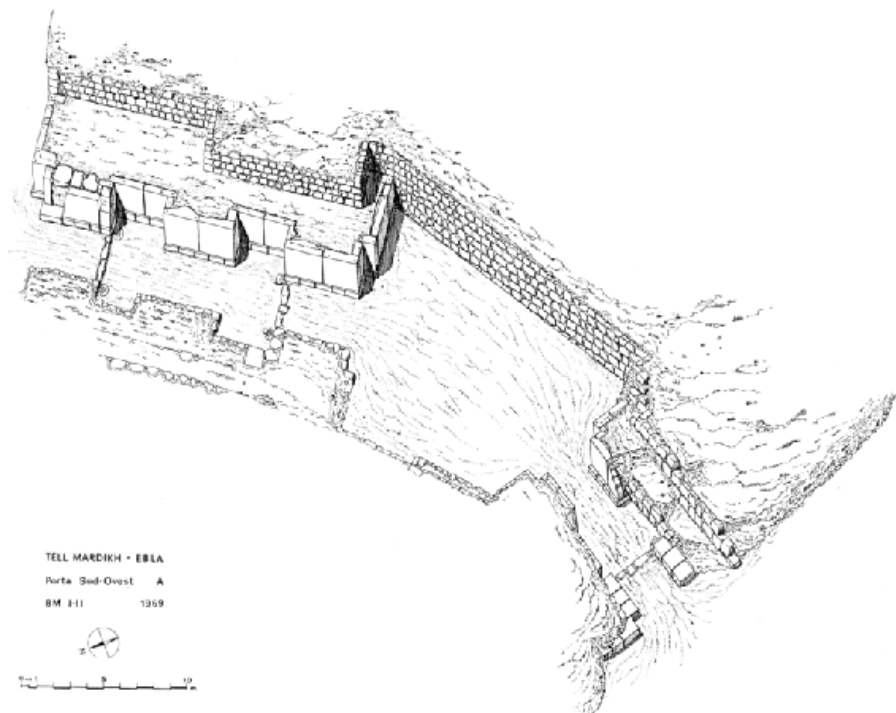
51 Tilmen Höyük. Sample system section from the Middle Bronze Age orthostats of the northwest façade of the palace.



52 North Syria in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. (Base map by Peri Johnson, using ESRI Topographic Data [Creative Commons]: World Shaded Relief, World Linear Water, and World Elevation Contours)



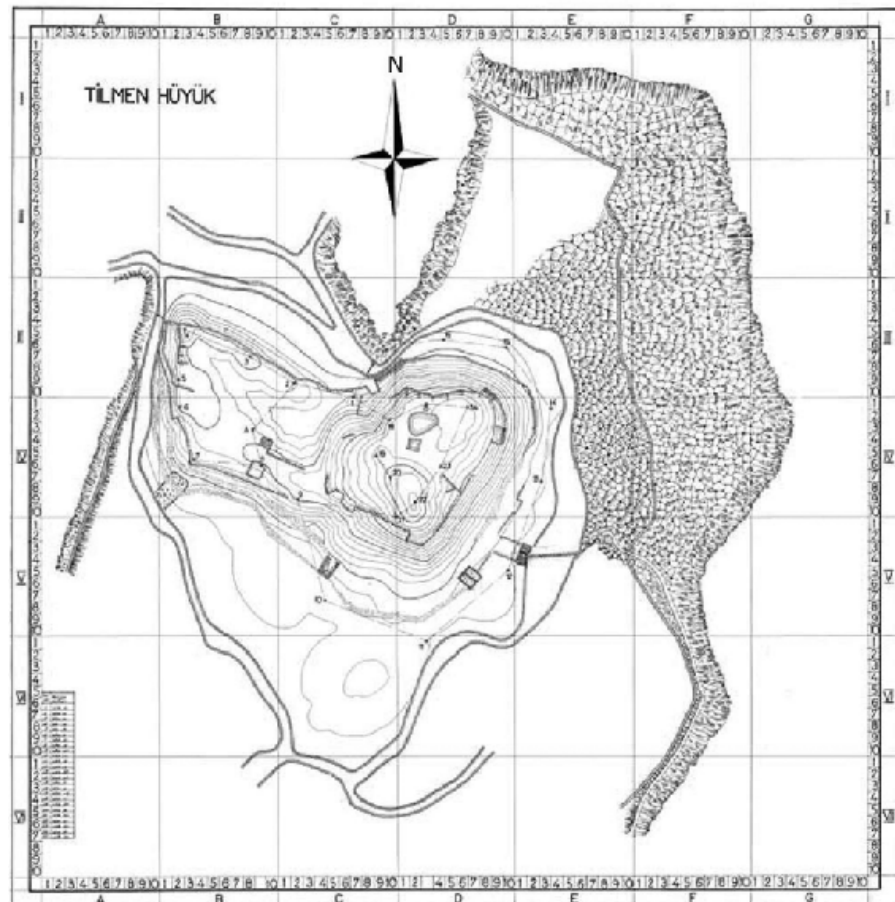
53 Ebla (Tell Mardikh) in the Middle Bronze Age. Topographic map and excavated remains. Courtesy of Frances Pinnock on the behalf of Ebla Project.



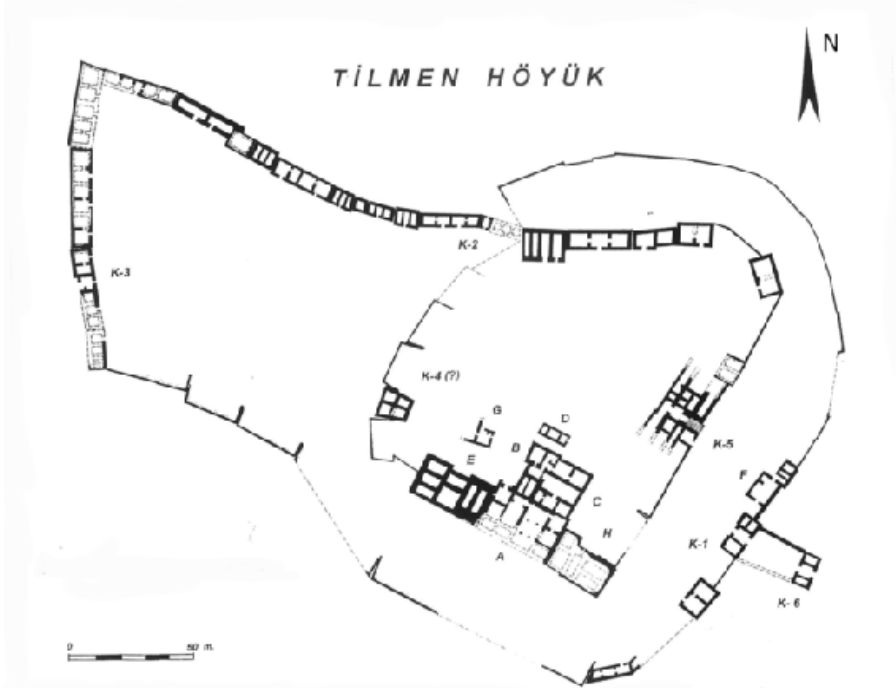
54 Ebla (Tell Mardikh), Southwest (“Damascus”) Gate of the Lower City in Area A. Axonometric reconstruction (after Matthiae, Pinnock, and Scandone Matthiae (eds.) [1995](#): p. 167). Courtesy of Frances Pinnock on the behalf of Ebla Project.



55 Ebla (Tell Mardikh), Southwest (“Damascus”) Gate of the Lower City in Area A. View from the northwest.



56 Tilmen Höyük topographical plan (Duru [2003](#): Plate 1). Image Courtesy of Refik Duru.



57 Tilmen Höyük citadel plan during the Middle Bronze Age (Level II) (Duru 2003: Fold-out plan). Image Courtesy of Refik Duru.



58 Tilmen Höyük, general view of Middle Bronze Age Palace remains from the northwest.



59 Tilmen Höyük Middle Bronze Age orthostats from the northwest façade of the palace, viewed from the entrance plaza.

six Cities, Place, and Desire

With cities, it is as with dreams: everything imaginable can be dreamed, but even the most unexpected dream is a rebus that conceals a desire or, its reverse, a fear. Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else.

Calvino 1978: 44

Cities and Desire

Cities are built of desires. Whether these are the utopic ideals of their grand scheme planners or the everyday dreams of urban dwellers is another question. Like Italo Calvino's Kublai Khan and Marco Polo, we continuously nurture images of an ideal city, both in search of a place to dwell comfortably and for a collective sense of belonging that will take us under its wings. As Walter Benjamin showed in *The Arcades Project* (2002), cities are also phantasmagorias, places of illusion and quick change. We sometimes like to get lost in their labyrinthine streets and take refuge in the anonymity they offer. Urban spaces are secretly negotiated between this fleeting, eventful, and improvised quality of street life and the material memories kept in monuments, archives, cemeteries, ruins, and more ordinary places. The city's dilemma lies between the political economy of building practices and how those politics, economies, and buildings are subverted, reimaged, and resignified with the passage of time. The same tension is expressed in *Invisible Cities*, when Marco Polo tells Kublai Khan: "cities believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answer it gives to a question of yours." (Calvino 1978: 37–38).

Calvino's *Invisible Cities* is built on the playful notion that the real

spaces that we live in are repeatedly imagined, desired, dreamed of, and redesigned. Stories are endlessly told about them so that storytelling is a fundamental aspect of making places and building spaces. But these dreams and desires derive their inspiration from the experience of real places. After all, Marco Polo announces at the end of his stories about hundreds of imaginary cities, that he has been talking only about Venice all along. This cuts through to the main problem addressed in *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* and is concealed in the title to this section. Writing on ancient cities, we are always working with real places and landscapes that have left material traces and residues in the archaeological and textual record. Through this body of evidence, however, we are also faced with the desires of individuals in the past, desires to build the perfect city – a paradise on earth, desires to tell stories about places, and desires to give shape to history and to commemorate its events. This complexity of cities as desirous social spaces oblige us to understand space as a heterogeneous mixture of materiality and imagination, utopias and the realities of everyday life, stories and practices of making places.

Desirous Places

But what is place? Place can be defined as a meaningful locality, produced by local practices, intersecting trajectories of movement and accumulated material assemblages; and it is maintained by stories, legends, and other forms of local knowledge (Massey 2005: 130–46; Zedeño and Bowser 2009). As a fundamental unit of lived experience, places are layered localities where we “hang our life memories on” in Iivkovi's terms (2010: 169), or they are “an important source of culture and identity” in Escobar's (2008: 7). Because of this powerful nature of places in social life, political agents always attempt to incorporate them into their ideologies, for example, through the construction of monuments. The production of places or place-making involves a negotiation between local cultural practices and political interventions from above, and requires a delicate balance between cultural memory and stately narratives of history. The archaeology of place therefore demands attentiveness to the long-term biographies of places and the short-term events that transform them. Monument construction incorporates existing “places of power,” while opening them to new forms of expression, practice, and negotiation. Often presented as spectacles of political power, the making of monuments is an important social event in the long-term history of places, and these interventions of monumentalization draw places into broader

In *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, I discuss the practice of building cities as a place-making practice in two different ways. First and foremost, city foundations of the royal elite in Assyria and the Syro-Hittite polities are demonstrated to be reappropriations of existing places of cultural significance into coherent, state-sponsored urban construction projects. In addition to the architectural monumentalization of the town, these projects involved a comprehensive rehabilitation of the landscape surrounding the new city with plantations, introduction of new irrigation canals, opening of new quarries, and resettlement of populations. These projects actualized social utopias while at the same time serving or reacting to the broader trends in landscape processes and changes in settlement patterns, which can only be observed through a long-term perspective. Secondly, constructing the urban landscape entailed the gradual building up of public spaces through the making of ceremonial and ritual spaces. Isolated places in the city were carefully integrated to a meaningful ensemble of public spaces that were dominated by commemorative monuments of various kinds. Appropriating the potentials of architectural technologies such as the finely carved upright wall slabs in the urban context, both an architectonic aesthetic of urban spaces is created, and these technologies are used in the service of a politically charged display culture of pictorial narratives and monumental inscriptions.

In various sections of this book, the practice of carving rock reliefs was discussed as *another* place-making practice in relation to the founding of cities. Near Eastern rock reliefs from the Akkadian Kingdom to Sasanian Empire were commemorative monuments of a remarkable type, and they are always put up at culturally significant, politically charged, or geologically wondrous places, including sources of rivers and springs, caves and sinkholes, mountain passes, and river gorges. An abundance of rock reliefs are recorded for the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages in Anatolia and upper Mesopotamia. Their durability is most likely what attracted the Hittite, Assyrian, and Syro-Hittite rulers (Figure 60). Because reliefs and inscriptions were often carved into the living rock in well-protected and remote places in the landscape, they appropriate the geological temporality of the bedrock. Ann Shafer (1998) has shown that they bring together a constellation of site-specific ritual practices and commemorative ceremonies. As a place-making practice then, carving rock reliefs has certain affinities to the act of founding a city in the context of a contested frontier

landscape. Both acts are understood as colonial gestures – although in very different scales of ambition and physical intervention – especially with their claim to appropriate local places of ritual and symbolic significance. In my opinion, it is not a coincidence that certain Iron Age rulers characterized the sites of their urban foundations with a discourse of *terra nullius*, while employing statements such as “the rock was untouched” in their royal inscriptions (see discussion in [Chapter 3](#)). Founding a city was presented in these accounts with the metaphor of carving the living rock for the first time and to remain there eternally.

Imagined Cities

Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East departs with a historical problem in hand: a problem that posed a series of historical questions, both specific and broad. It poses specific questions about the ways in which Ancient Near Eastern cities were built and about the particular historical circumstances in which cities and towns were founded – in familiar and unfamiliar landscapes, with ancestral or innovative forms and technologies. It equally poses questions of broad scope – about the way we dwell on earth, how ancient societies represented their practices of building, and how they established their relationship with history through commemoration. Throughout the text, these questions were explored between the discussions of material evidence. Further, the historical problem solicits historiographic and methodological questions. One particular challenge for the research project was the nature of our evidence, because textual, visual, archaeological, environmental, and architectural representations had to be put together. The question was how one could go about writing on spaces of antiquity, using a diversity of evidence that is in various states of incompleteness and predisposition. One way to overcome the myopic discussions of the material was to shift the focus continuously among a range of temporal and spatial scales, from long-term and ecological perspectives to short-term and material-based arguments, so that the evidence is relocated in a new spatial and temporal context for a fresh interpretation in each chapter.

The three scales of the interpretation of space in the historical context of new urban foundations are introduced in four chapters (Chapters 2 to 5). In Chapters 2 and 3, the practice of founding cities

in Assyria and the Syro-Hittite states is problematized within the context of settlement systems and their complex processes of transformation in the long-term history of the region. In [Chapter 4](#) the discussion is formulated around the urban building project in particular and explored the physical and symbolic configurations of monumentalized townscape by approaching building projects as major festive events. Finally, [Chapter 5](#) explores the symbolically charged architectural technologies in the cities, and speculates that tectonic culture beyond the limitations of specific regions constituted *the* material grounds on which state ideologies and cultural representations were staged.

Addressing the practice of city foundations, we are therefore obliged to go beyond the limits of architectural history of urban monuments and the traditional methodologies of interpreting architectural spaces. In researching and writing *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, my own approach moved from a deep interest in the analysis of architectural space to a fascination with landscapes, places, and monuments. Similarly, I was increasingly interested in the politics of place-making and memory practices in specific landscapes rather than submitting to the traditional view of ancient cities as designs of political agents. Methodologically speaking, the architectural spaces of antiquity are better studied through an archaeological study of places and landscapes than through the abstract representations of architectural plans and sections, flowcharts of movement in space or the thermo-dynamic calculations of slave labor invested in building projects. This is only, however, if we take archaeology in its broad meaning, both in the disciplinary sense of documenting and interpreting material assemblages and residues of the past, and in the Foucaultian sense of tracing the genealogy of places and practices. What I propose here then is a methodological shift from studying generalized architectural histories of space to locally specific archaeologies of landscape and place.

From Architectural Space to Archaeologies of Landscape and Place

In the modernist discourse of architectural criticism, architectural space is often objectified and presented as a visual or perceptual fetish, in so far it has become a commodity in the capitalist world-system.¹ The nineteenth century discourse on architecture, especially in Germany, produced the concept of architectural space for the first time as an aesthetic, formal category on its own (Panin [2003](#)).

Evaluated through the perceptual experience, space was studied in psychological terms and conceived as a realm of empathy (*Einfühlung*) between architecture's formal aspects and human perception.² Placed in the center of attention in modernist architectural discourse, architectural space is gradually dissociated from its social relationships of production and treated as a *thing-in-itself* as if it could be analyzed as “a work of art” independent of the spatial practices that bring it to existence (Lefebvre 1991: 90).³ The abstract and formalist understanding of space is now embedded in the discursive formation of contemporary architectural history and also impacts the interpretation of architecture in other fields of social sciences and humanities. Despite the so-called spatial turn associated with the advent of post-modernism (Blake 2004: 233), the study of the architectural spaces of antiquity usually suffers from anachronistic applications of the modern concepts of space on ancient built-environments.⁴ In particular, the modernist idea that architectural space is designed and produced *before* it is lived in often surfaces in archaeological interpretations of space. This understanding of ancient architecture negates building activity from being a cultural process of social production, disregards the *real* social relations behind the productions of space, and neglects all performative human activities that physically and cognitively transform space in the aftermath of the construction project.

In contrast, in the post-processual critique of archaeological discourse, it has been shown that material culture is meaningfully constituted (Hodder and Hutson 2003; Tilley and Shanks 1987). Architectural space is considered an important component of material culture (Blake 2004). But, archaeologically speaking, there is an apparent shift in the methodologies of approaching architecture, from studying architectural spaces as abstract entities, to integrating architectural spaces into the flourishing field of the archaeologies of place and landscape, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2. This allows us not to give the priority to what is preserved best – monuments of the city, but to seek for signatures of other human practices in the landscape.

In *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*, foundation of cities is considered as a conscientious act of spatial production, but it is also understood as a piecemeal and gradual transformation of urban spaces, enabling architectural spaces to become laden with meaning and symbolisms of the past. Various forms of social agencies are at work during these two processes,

ranging from the ideologically driven decisions of powerful elites to the everyday practices of various social groups. One of the main premises of the book has been to illustrate the fact that architectural meaning is constituted through these processes of spatial production and by the rhetorical and elaborate, residue-leaving practices that inscribe themselves onto architectural spaces. Architectural remains are then important records of human interaction with the environment and especially with their own past, in such a way that architectural spaces appear as material worlds of historical representation. They tell in a way most importantly (perhaps) about how we dwell on earth.

We have a tendency to miniaturize the city by representing and idealizing it in a variety of representational schemes: urban plans, design schemes, aerial photographs, satellite images, bird's eye views, disembodied perspectives, and skyline images, just like Michel de Certeau's subject who gazes over Manhattan from 110 floor of the (now destroyed) World Trade Center (De Certeau 1984: 91). But cities are messy places. They are equally built and defined by the everyday practices of their citizens, smells, sights, and sounds of street life, the cultural imagination of its meaningful places, its sites of memory, complex dynamics of land use patterns, and the negotiation of spaces between public and private. They breed multiple temporalities and heterogeneous cultures of living. Urban spaces therefore have always been the battleground between the organizing and structuring gestures of the political agents and the decision-makers versus the fragile structures and rhythms of everyday life which continuously deconstruct, reconfigure, and resignify planned and regulated urban environments. As archaeologists of the ancient world, when we attempt to tell stories about cities, we therefore have a responsibility to balance our representations of urban spaces and their cultural biographies between gestures of planning and design vis-à-vis locally specific and much more subtle practices in everyday places and landscapes.



60 Rock relief of Warpalawa, king of Tabal at vriz.

Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

¹ On *civitas*, see *OCD*, 3rd ed. (1996): 335. On *madna*, see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition Supplement Fasc. 7–8 (2003): 551–554.

² Regional polities are understood here as small-scale states confined to a few urban centers and their hinterland. Territorial states have broader ambitions for territorial expansion and agricultural colonization of frontier landscapes. On the relationship between the transformation of a city-state to a territorial state and the practice of founding cities that became an essential tool for the imperial power to restructure contested territories, cf. Oppenheim (1957: 33) and Trigger (1985).

³ The concept of connectivity between the regions is discussed in detail by Horden and Purcell (2000), esp. 123–172. Horden and Purcell point out the significance of Fernand Braudel's chapter in *The Mediterranean*, entitled “The Mediterranean as a human unit: communications and cities” (Braudel 1972, I: 276–352).

⁴ Norberg-Schulz (2000: 11) suggests that any architectural image or entity as “a structure-qua-place...opens a world” of relations.

Chapter 2: Landscapes of Change: Cities, Politics, and Memory

¹ Excerpt from the commemorative “Banquet Stele” from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasir-apli II (883–859 BCE); translation by A.

Kirk Grayson (1991, 291).

2 *namû/nawû(m)* denotes “steppe, desert, deserted region” but more specifically “pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas as habitat of nomads, and its population and flocks” (s.v. *namû*; CAD N, part 1: 249).

3 Grayson 1987: 273; text A.0.78.23, line 94. The foundation inscriptions of Kr-Tukult-Ninurta are published in Grayson 1987: 269–278; texts A.0.78.22 through 25. This particular inscription (A.0.78.23) is a stone tablet found at the site of Tulul al-‘Aqar (or Aqir), at the ziqqurat. For the archaeological discovery and the location of the findspot, see Andrae and Bachmann 1914: 44–45. The tablet is now in Berlin Vorderasiatische Museum (VA 8253). On the foundation of Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, see Gilibert 2008.

4 Grayson 1987: 273–274; text A.0.78.23, line 105–106. On the archaeological identification of this irrigation project, see Dittmann 1995; and comments in Bagg 2000b: 306–311.

5 Grayson 1987: 300–301; text A.0.79.1, especially lines 15–27. This is a clay tablet from Aur and it is currently in the Babylonian collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven (YBC 2246).

6 Grayson 1991: 288–293; text A.0.101.30 (Banquet Stele), lines 36–38. On Ar-nasir-apli II's irrigation projects, see Bagg 2000b: 311–314.

7 Hawkins 2000, I: I.1. KARATEPE I (the Bilingual) 45f. For the archaeological work at Karatepe, see Bossert et al. 1950; Çambel 1948; 1993; Çambel, Röllig and Hawkins 1999; Sicker-Akman 1999, 2000; and the final publication of “*Die Bildwerke*” that appeared in Çambel and Özyar 2003.

8 For notable archaeological contributions, see Cherry's review of Mediterranean regional surveys (2003). See also David and Thomas (eds.) 2010; Forbes 2007; Alcock and Cherry (eds.) 2004; Athanassopoulos and Wandsnider (eds.) 2004; Ingold 2000; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Barker 1995; Tilley 1994; Alcock 2002 and 1993. In anthropology see Bender (ed.) 1993; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Stewart and A. Strathern (eds.) 2003 among others. In Near Eastern Studies, see Wilkinson 2003; Klengel and Renger (eds.) 1999; and Milano, et al (eds.) 2000.

9 Sauer's study is usually taken as the springing point for landscape studies. Sauer offered a fresh definition of landscape as we understand it today, and his article came as an attack on environmentally deterministic views of the relationship between human societies and nature. Sauer (1925: 29–30) argued against the idea of isolating the physical and cultural aspects of landscapes.

10 Daniels and Cosgrove point to the binding relationship between the physical landscape and its representations. They argue that “the meanings of verbal, visual and built landscapes have a complex interwoven history” (Daniels and Cosgrove 1988: 1). However, Hirsch (1995: 5 and 22–23) argued that such impressionistic view of landscapes prioritizes the “outsider's point of view” and operates through the eyes of a subject, whose perspective is taken for granted.

11 I refer here to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of “the field of cultural production” (especially Bourdieu 1993). Likewise, Knapp and Ashmore (1999: 20–21) suggest that landscape can be considered as an “integral part of Bourdieu's *habitus*, the routine social practices within which people experience the world around them.” According to Knapp and Ashmore, “beyond *habitus*, people actively order, transform, identify with and memorialize landscape by dwelling within it. The environment manifests itself as landscape only when people create and experience space as a complex of places.”

12 For an overview of the French *Annales School of History*, see Burke 1990. On the influence of *Annales School* and F. Braudel's work on survey archaeology, see Cherry 1983: 388; articles in Bintliff (ed.)

1991; Horden and Purcell 2000: 48; Smith 2003: 48–50.

13 Among these new methodologies, noteworthy is the increased involvement of natural scientists, especially in geomorphology, soil micro-morphology, archaeobotany, and archaeozoology, as well as climatology and palynology. Remote sensing and the use of satellite imagery (Ur 2003; Kouchoukos 2001), GPS surveys, and geophysical methods, such as magnetometry, ground penetrating radar, and electric resistivity are some of nondestructive remote sensing technologies.

14 Miller 1998: 204–206; Van Zeist and Bottema 1991: 125, figure 45.

15 BP stands for “Before Present.” In climate history and archaeobotany, BP is used instead of archaeological use of BCE/CE.

16 See especially Hawkins 1998b, but now Seeher 2006. Gorny's (1995a: 70) suggestion that these cults may have been transferred to the capital city because their “traditional homes (such as Kane and Puruhanda) had ceased to exist” is certainly compelling for the earlier part of Hittite history. This may indeed relate to the thinning of settlement hierarchies in the Middle and Late Bronze Age landscapes. However, such is certainly not true for larger cult centers such as Halap/Aleppo, later in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries when the “Land of Hatti” had become the house of “LIM.DINGIRME URUHATTI: thousand gods of Hatti” collected from the Empire's territories and absorbed into the Hittite pantheon.

17 In the surveys of the Birecik-Carchemish dam area, Algaze and his colleagues found that the three-tiered settlement hierarchy of the late third to early second millennium BCE is virtually absent in the Late Bronze Age landscape, while the massive urban center of Karkam grows to about 40 ha. (Algaze et al. 1991: 205. Algaze, Breuninger, and Knudstad 1994: 18). Similar conclusion was set forth for the Tübinger Atlas Lower Habur survey, where Late Bronze Age sites were

restricted to large mounds, while Iron Age is marked with an increase in the number of small settlements.

18 See Mazzoni 2000; Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2002; Fischer et al. 2003; Bietak 2003; Bachhuber and Roberts 2009.

19 On attempts to define Iron Age ceramic chronologies in Upper Mesopotamia, see contributions to Fischer et al 2003; and Hausleiter and Reiche (eds.) 1999.

20 On the problems of survey methodology in the Near East, see especially Wilkinson 2000a; and Wilkinson 2003: 33–44; where he argues for full coverage survey in contrast to partial-intensive surveys. Partial sampling of an area with intensive transect walking inevitably brings about the idea of making generalizations of non-surveyed terrain. For the papers submitted to the “Case for the full coverage survey” symposium in the 1985 meeting of Society for American Archaeology, see Fish and Kowalewski (eds.). 1990. For a detailed discussion of methodological problems pertaining to the reconstruction of settlements from survey data, see Francovich, Patterson and Parker 2000.

21 For instance, see Wilkinson 2000a: 236, where the dispersed pattern of rural settlement in the Early Iron Age is associated with “deliberate policies of resettlement by Neo-Assyrian authorities.” This unfortunately seems to have become a default explanation for all new settlements in the Iron Age. See, for example, Schwartz et al. 2000: 452; Morandi Bonacossi 2000; Parker 2001b, 2003.

22 Writing on the Early Iron Age pottery in Central Anatolian plateau, Hermann Genz also took a similar stand: “[i]t is not yet – and may never be – possible to equate different pottery groups discernible in the Early Iron Age Central Anatolia with ethnic or political entities known from textual sources. Instead of focusing on political events and population movements as the only ways of explaining cultural changes, one should also take other possible explanations into

account” (Genz 2003: 187).

23 Handmade ceramics, especially cooking ware with grooved decoration or ribbing on the rim and shoulders, seem to be a marker of the Early Iron Age in eastern and southeastern Anatolia and the Upper Tigris and Upper Euphrates regions (Bartl 2001), and appear in the Early Iron levels at Lidar (Müller 1999a, 1999b: “grooved ware” in Levels 7, 6e2, 6e1, 6d, confirmed with ¹⁴C dating), Tille Höyük (Blaylock 1999: “Ribbed ware” in Levels IV-V), Grê Dimsê (Karg 2001), Tell Afis (Mazzoni 1992), Noruntepe (Bartl 2001: 386), Tell Halaf, and many other sites.

24 An orthostat is an upright, finely carved block that is used to protect the lower half of a wall from water seepage, wind and other forms of physical damage. For a long discussion of orthostats as an architectural technique, see Chapter Five.

25 On the Hittite interest in North Syria, see Bryce 1998: 75–102; and on the appointment of uppiluliuma I's appointment of his sons as viceroys at Karkami and Halab, see Bryce 1998: 189–195 and note 103.

26 Hawkins 2002: 144 and Bryce 1998: 295–299. On the excavation of the bronze tablet 35m from Yerkap, see Neve 1987: 405–408 and Abb. 21–22–23. The standard edition of the Bronze Tablet is Otten 1988. For an English translation of the text, see Beckman 1999: 108–124.

27 On Kurunta's seal impressions on clay bullae from Temple 3: see Neve 1987: 401–403, Abb. 20; and Neve 1991: 330, Abb. 35.

28 But see Singer 1996a: 68–71. A fragmentary cuneiform Hittite tablet from Boazköy (*KBo* XII no.38), which is now understood to be a draft of at least part of the mostly illegible monumental inscription

NIANTA in Hattua (Hawkins 2002: 144, 146–147, and n. 4), records uppiluliuma II's (1207–1180? BCE) and his father Tudhaliya IV's campaigns to Alaiya (usually identified as Cyprus) and the commemoration of the construction of the monument NA₄ *hé-gur* SAG.U (“the everlasting house of the mountain peak”) where an ancestral image (ALAM) of Tudhaliya was erected. For a transliteration, translation, and discussion of the tablet, see Güterbock 1967.

29 Lidar Höyük is a large mound situated on the east bank of the Euphrates in southeastern Turkey in Urfa district, north of Samsat. These seal impressions were excavated in 1985 in the northern section of the mound, in Level 7, and published in Sürenhagen 1986: Abb. 1–3; for the transliteration and translation of the inscription on the seal, see Sürenhagen 1986: 186. Hawkins's (1988: 100) reading of the hieroglyphic legend of the seal is “(King) Kuzi-Teub, King of the Land of Karkami / (of) (King) Talmi-Teub, King of the Land of Karkami, / the son, recognized by the gods.”

30 In Tukult-apil-earra I's (1114–1076 BCE) expeditions to the land of *Amurru* and Mount *Labnana*, the Karkamiean king Ini-Teub is referred as “the king of the Land of Hatti” only about a century after the abandonment of Hattua (Grayson 1991: 37, text A.0.87.3, line 28). Peculiarly, the same king referred to Melid/Malatya as *a KUR Hatte* GAL-te or “in the Land of Great Hatti” (Grayson 1991: 43; text A.0.87.4, line 31).

31 Hawkins 2000 I: 433–442, Plates 236–243 and Hawkins 1992.

32 Five inscriptions are found in Kzlda, two in Karada and one in Burunkaya. Hawkins sees close paleographic links with the imperial Hittite hieroglyphic Luwian monuments Yalburt and Boazköy-Südburg, so argues for a dating “to the period shortly after the fall of the Hittite Empire” (Hawkins 2000 I: 434). Hatice Gonnet (1983a) argued for a thirteenth century date based on the idea that the cultic features (rock-cut throne, altar, and “cupule”) around Kzlda 4 should be associated with the Hittite Empire tradition. Itamar Singer (1996a) also favors the possibility that Hartapu might have been one of the kings of Tarhuntaa, and contemporary with the latest Great Kings of

Hattua and extended his territorial claims northward at their expense.

33 For a sketch-plan of Kzlda monumental complex and fortress, see Bittel [1986](#): Ill. 10–1 on p. 107 and a discussion of the architectural features in pages 106–109; but also Karauuz et al. [2002](#).

34 On the history of Melid/Malizi kingdom, see Hawkins [2000](#) I: 282–286; Harmanah [2011a](#).

35 For a survey of metal resources and metalworking technologies in the Ancient Near East, see Moorey [1994](#): 216–301. For a survey of ancient mining in Anatolia, see especially Jesus [1980](#).

36 These deposits were interpreted by the excavator as “bothros/garbage dump” deposits. See Özgüç and Özgüç [1949](#): 21–25. I am grateful to Elif Denel for directing my attention to the ash-pottery-bone deposits around the stele. For a detailed discussion of this archaeological evidence with similar interpretation, see Denel [2006](#). Some of the pottery that came from these deposits appears to be the best decorated examples, which further suggests that these assemblages were ceremonial in nature.

37 On the basis of a chronological discrepancy of paleography with the early Maliziean monuments and those from Karkami, Hawkins ([2000](#) I: 287–288) places more emphasis on the possibility of identifying this “Great King” in KARAHÖYÜK with the dynasty at Tarhuntaa rather than Karkami, assuming that the Malatya kings are direct descendants of Kuzi-Teub of Karkami. Drawing more parallels between Karahöyük inscription and those of KZLDA, KARADA, and BURUNKAYA, Hawkins argued ([1993a](#)) that the Elbistan plain was first taken over by the Tarhuntaa kings in the twelfth century BCE but later incorporated to the Malatya kingdom in the eleventh century BCE as illustrated by the IZGN monument, which commemorates the foundation of a city named Taita. (See Hawkins [2000](#) I: 314–318). It also seems likely that the Malatya king Runtiyas, sponsor of the

monuments of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, could be understood as a “descendant” rather than true grandson of Kuzi-Teub of Karkami.

38 This discrepancy between the archaeological stratigraphy and the dating of orthostats has been a major archaeological problem. Writing about the architecture of the gates in the Syro-Hittite cities, Mazzoni (1997b: 310–311) assumes the dating of the “Lion Gate” as twelfth to eleventh century BCE. Orthmann's (1971) dating of this sculpture to late the tenth to early ninth century BCE was based on stylistic analysis. For an art-historical critique of this dating, see Winter 1973: 223–230. The most recent study of these orthostats is Asl. Özyar's unpublished dissertation (1991: 107–165) which brings together epigraphic and archaeological evidence and analyzes the architectonic (technical/structural) aspects of the orthostats, placing the manufacture of the orthostats to a chronological stretch in the twelfth to mid-eleventh century BCE.

39 GÜRÜN: Hawkins 2000 I: 295–299, pl. 135–138; KÖTÜKALE: Hawkins 2000 I: 299–301, pls. 139–41.

40 GÜRÜN, §2–3 reads “From the city Taita(?), the mountains Zinapi(?), Naharasa (and) Nama...I *separated*, and,...and the city I settled.” (Hawkins 2000 I: 296); while SPEKÇÜR §2–4 reads “...I [caused to] sit, and...mountains I [pla]ced...I made.” (Hawkins 2000 I: 302). On side B (front) of the SPEKÇÜR stele, a beardless standing figure wearing a long, fringed robe and shoes with upturned toes and holding a staff/lituus, stand on a “scale pattern” representation of a mountainous landscape. For a detailed description of the scene, see Hawkins 2000 I: 301.

41 Especially in the annals of Tukult-apil-earra I and Ar-bl-kala. See for instance, Grayson 1991: 23; Text A.0.87.1, col. v. lines 44–49; Grayson 1991: 43, text A.0.87.4, lines 34–36; Grayson 1991: 101, text A.0.89.7 col. iii, lines 1–3.

42 See, for instance, TELL AHMAR 1 (Hawkins 2000 I: 239–243, pl. 99–

100), which is a monumental stele in the National Syrian Museum, Aleppo and dated to late tenth or early ninth century BCE. Line §5b reads: "... the city [Mas]uwari, up to the sky i [rais]ed forth [its] head." The name of the ruler (son of Ariyahinas, grandson of Hapatilas) is not preserved.

43 See, for example, Grayson 1996: 15: text A.O.102.2 (Kurkh Monolith, a stele erected in the Upper Tigris region at the site of Kurkh in SE Turkey), lines 31–32. "URU.DU6 *bar-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti-ú á* DI.*a-hu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni*" translated as "the city Til Barsip, fortified city of the Ahunu, son (man) of Adini." Also Grayson 1996: 35: text A.O.102.6 (many exemplars of clay tablets from Aur), lines 57–61. "... DI.*a-hu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni*...URU.DU6 *bur-si-ip* URU.MAN-*ti-ú*" where Ahunu is described as abandoning his "royal city, Til Barsip." In this text (lines 60–61), Shalmaneser III credits Tukult-apil-Earra I as the founder of Til Barsip and Pit(i)ru, cities on either side of the Euphrates.

44 The chronological relationship between the Luwian and the Aramaean dynasties seated at Til Barsip is debated. Bunnens (1995: 25; 1999) suggests that the city may have become a vassal state in the territory of the powerful Aramaean tribe Bt Adini under the ambitious early ninth century BCE ruler Ahuni. Ikeda (1984) suggests that Ahuni himself must have taken over Til Barsip from the Luwian dynasty in early ninth century BCE. Lately Hawkins (2000 I: 225) and Dion (1997: 89–90) also accepted the most likely possibility that the Aramaean sovereignty at Til Barsip was short-term and limited to the reign of Ahunu.

45 See Hawkins 1982: 392; Bunnens 1997c: 17; Bunnens 1995: 24.

46 Excavations reports include McEwan et al. 1958; Moortgat 1956 and 1959.

47 H.J. Kantor, cited in Carl H. Kraeling and Richard C. Haines, "Structural remains" in McEwan et al. 1958: 11–20, see especially 18–20. For the publication of the cuneiform tablets, see H.J. Güterbock,

“The cuneiform tablets,” in McEwan et al. 1958: 86–90. Middle Assyrian sealings were published in the same volume; see H.J. Kantor, “The glyptic,” in McEwan et al. 1958: 69–85.

Chapter 3: The Land of Aur: The Making of Assyrian Landscapes

1 The earliest attestation of the “Land of Aur” in royal inscriptions is from the time of Arik-dn-ili (1307–1296 BCE). (Grayson 1987: 120–121; text. A.0.75.1, line 3, 10, 12–13, 47). Here, the Assyrian king Arik-dn-ili and other former kings are referred to as LUGAL.KUR.DINGIR.*a-ur*, “King of the Land of Aur.” On an inscribed brick from Aur, Arik-dn-ili, his father Enlil-nrri, and his grandfather Ar-uballit were all referred to as MAN.KUR.*a-ur* (Grayson 1987: 125; text. A.0.75.7).

2 Tadmor 1999 and Grayson 1971. The annals of Adad-nrr I, ulmnu-ared (Shalmaneser) I, and Tukult-Ninurta I represent the fundamental departure from the earlier concepts of Assyrian kingship.

3 On this definition, see most recently Radner 2011; Barbanes 1999: 18–26; 2003; Postgate 1992c: 251. I explicitly avoid the term “Assyrian heartland” because of heartland’s association with nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalism as an ethnically defined geography. My definition of the Assyrian “triangle” differs slightly from Radner’s recent discussion (2011), which includes Aur in the south. I limit the triangle with the confluence of the Greater Zab River with the Tigris and emphasize that Aur was marginalized from this core.

4 The shift in material culture from the so-called Mitannian levels to Middle Assyrian levels is identified by means of texts, cylinder seals and sealings, and pottery. Lyon specifically refers to the stratigraphy at the sites Tell Billa (ibaniba), Tell Mohammed Arab, Tell al Rimah, Tell al-Hawa, Tell Brak, Tell al Hamidiya, Tell Muhammed Diyab and Tell Fakhariyah.

5 On the *dimtu* settlements in the Land of Arraphe in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Zaccagnini 1979: 47–52. On the Middle Assyrian system of *dimtu* settlements, see Koliski 2001: 30–32. Koliski (2001: 126) also argues that *dimtu* settlements were essentially royal grants granted by the Assyrian king. On the *ilku* system, see Postgate 1971 and 1982b. On the Neo-Assyrian land grants, see Fales 1990.

6 See Koliski 2001: 31–63. On the excavations at Tell Fahar, see Koliski 2002; on Tell Sabi Abyad, Akkermans 2006 with bibliography; on Tell Chuera, see Orthmann et al. 1995.

7 Grayson 1987: 137–138; text A.O.76.4. This is a stone slab inscription from Aur, found in multiple copies. The relevant line that would have named the building complex that was to be rebuilt was left blank, and therefore raises questions whether the king had completed the building activity at all. Machinist (1982: 14–15, n. 28) suggests that the construction work at Ta'idu may have been completed by Adad-nirari's son ulmnu Aard I. Location of the city Ta'idu is debated (for a detailed discussion, see Wäfler 1994). It was variously identified with Tell al Hamidiya (Eichler et al. 1985: 53–76) and Tell Brak (Gernot 1989: 82).

8 On the Middle Assyrian regional administration, see Jacob 2003: 55–65 and 111–140; Machinist 1982.

9 Now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Ancient Near East (Eski ark Eserleri) section, museum inv. E 9512 and excavation inv. Ass 17313. Tarbisu is usually identified with the modern site of Sherif Khan, northwest of Nnuwa, Kahat with Tell Barr.

10 The famous temple of the Hurrian Weather God Tehub at Kahat (modern Tell Barr) was restored by ulmnu Aard I (Pecorella 1990: 55).

11 See discussion in Morandi Bonacossi 1996a, where she proposes a special military function to the city in addition to its administrative role as a provincial capital.

12 On the Assyrian irrigation projects in the Lower Habur, see Ergenzinger et al. 1988 and Kühne (ed.) 1991.

13 The foundation cylinder inscription of Ar-kett-leer was excavated at Tell Bdri and published by Maul (1992: 14–35). See also Lambert 1991.

14 On the settlement trends in the Balih valley in the second millennium BCE, see Lyon 2000; Wilkinson 1998a, 1998b.

15 For interpretive articles that put together recent archaeological and philological work on the settlement landscapes in the Upper Tigris region during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, see Parker 1997b, 1998a, 1998b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003; Köroğlu 2002; Radner and Schachner 2001; Kessler 1995. For preliminary reports of The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, directed by Guillermo Algaze, see Algaze 1989, Algaze et al. 1991, 1994. For the recent results of the Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP), directed by Bradley Parker, see Parker et al. 2003. Ongoing rescue archaeological work in southeast Anatolia, in the areas that will be and is being flooded by the new dam lakes are now coordinated by the Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment (TAÇDAM) in the Middle East Technical University and the results of the archaeological work in the region are regularly published by this institution in the yearly volumes entitled *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilsu and Carchemish dam reservoirs*, edited by Numan Tuna et al.

16 On the identification of Ziyarettepe with ancient Tuhan, see Kessler 1980, Parker 1998b, Radner and Schachner 2001: 754–757. On Ziyarettepe excavations, see most recently Matney et al. 2009.

17 Grayson 1991: 191–223, text A.0.101.1, especially p. 202, column ii, lines 2–12.

18 Grayson 1991: 237–254, text A.0.101.17, especially p. 242–243, column ii, lines 5–36.

19 Grayson 1991: 256–262, text A.0.101.19, especially p. 261, line 92.

20 For a more refined and recent discussion of the Upper Tigris frontier of the Assyrians, see Parker 2002, 2003. Parker reports that according to the survey evidence, in the ninth century BCE, the rural settlements of the Early Iron Age were extensively abandoned while “a new and significantly more intensive Imperial period settlement pattern” was established, along with a shift in material culture (Parker 2003: 536).

21 The absence of similar rural flourishing along the tributaries of the Tigris, such as the Bohtan Su and Garzan valleys, is somewhat supportive of this idea. Parker interprets these “loosely settled zones” as “buffer zones” that were left “uncolonized” by the Assyrians because of military concern in creating buffers between their territories and others (Parker 2003: 551–552).

22 For a collection of epigraphic and archaeological evidence on the cult of Aur, see Van Driel 1969. On the role of the cult of Aur in Middle and Neo-Assyrian political ideology, see Lambert 1983; Livingstone 1997; Holloway 2002.

23 On the royal tomb complex of the Old Palace at Aur, see Andrae 1938 (1977) 194–201; Haller 1954: 170–180 and Plates 40–44; Heinrich 1984: 112–113; Hausleiter 1999b; Novák 1999: 107; Sevin 1999: 158. Ar-bl-kala, Ar-nasir-apli II, and ami-Adad V were buried

in these chambers.

24 Luckenbill 1924: 151, Text XIII. This is a brick inscription from a royal sepulchre from Aur.

25 On Aur's urban landscape, see Andrae 1977 (1938), especially 151–186 for the projects of the thirteenth century BCE. See also Leick 2001: 194–217; Novák 1999: 104–115; Barbanes 1999: 77–81; Lamprichs 1997; Oates 1972. On the “Assur-projekt” of Deutsche-Orient Gesellschaft and the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin, see Renger 1997b, 2003. On the recent German and Iraqi excavations at Aur, see reports in Dittmann 1990, 1992, Wright 2000b and the project website <<http://miglus.de/Themen/Assur/assur.html>> (as of August 2004).

26 For Adad-nrr I's construction work on the city wall of the New City, see Grayson 1987: 143–144, text A.0.76.9. This is a tablet from Istanbul Archaeological Museum, excavated at Aur by Andrae in Sennacherib's palace. Adad-nrr's ascribes the original construction of the fortifications of this section of the city to Puzur-Aur, who is the name of two different rulers of the Assyrian city-state in early second millennium BCE.

27 The construction of the palace was reported in several royal inscriptions of the king, see especially Grayson 1987: 243–247, texts A.0.78.5 and 6, which were inscribed on stone tablets excavated in Aur by Andrae (Berlin VA 8832 and Istanbul E. 9516, respectively, the latter with exemplars Berlin 5916 and another tablet in Istanbul). See also Lackenbacher 1982: 48–49.

28 On the archaeological fieldwork at the site of Tulul ul 'Aqar, see Andrae 1977 (1938): 121–125, Eickhoff 1985, Dittmann 1995 (report of earlier work by Walter Bachmann in 1913–1914, from Walter Andrae's team at Aur); Dittmann et al. 1988; Dittmann 1990 and 1992 (recent work). Bachmann unfortunately never published his excavation material and most of this material is considered lost. Some

of his notes were published by T. Eickhoff (1985) and R. Dittmann (1995).

29 On the building activities of Kurigalzu I across Babylonia, see Clayden 1996. On the foundation of Dr-Kurigalzu, see also Reade 1981: 144; Kuhrt 1995: 341. On the debate about identifying the founder of Dr Kurigalzu with Kurigalzu I as opposed to Kurigalzu II (1332–1308 BCE), see Clayden 1996: 112–113.

30 See Machinist 1985: 360–361; Miglus 1993: 202–203, especially note 37 for related textual references.

31 See for example Kuhrt 1995: 483–487; Winter 1981a, 1983b; Paley 1976: 4–6; Reade 1981: 149; Cifarelli 1998: 210 and n. 3; Russell 1998: 655; Barbanes 1999: 83–86. Irene Winter (1981a: 31) refers to his reign as a “quantum leap” in the history of the Assyrian empire.

32 For the preliminary report, see Mallowan 1950: 174–175, also briefly in Mallowan 1966, I: 197. At a depth of 6 m. below the ninth century BCE pavement, two chambers connected with a door and well-built mudbrick walls were excavated. These walls were further resting on undated “perhaps prehistoric” pisé walls that rested on virgin soil. On the floor level of the two chambers, a clay seal impression (ND 891) was found, bearing “a nude winged female holding two gazelles by their hind legs. Alongside this scene is the sacred tree between two seated goats. Above them is a tress pattern.” Parker 1955: 110. Parker identifies the seal as a Mitannian type dated to fifteenth to thirteenth centuries BCE. The seal is published in Parker 1955: pl. xx 1. On the “1950 building” and its faience rosettes, see also Oates and Oates 2002: 135.

33 On the Assyrian royal roads (*hl / harrn arri*) and itineraries, see Kessler 1980 and 1997; Liverani 1992: 141–152; Altaweel 2003; Marro 2004; Wilkinson et al. 2005: 32–37.

34 On Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan, see Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935; on Sennacherib's irrigation project for the environs of Nnuwa, see Reade 1978; Dalley and Oleson 2003; Ur 2005.

35 This canal was identified by A. Henry Layard during a field trip, and included in Felix Jones's famous map. See Bagg 2000a: 96; 2000b: 311–312; Oates and Oates 2001: 33–35; Oates 1968: 46.

36 A stone slab inscription of Esarhaddon was found by Layard at the site, and it records his restoration of the Tunnel (Bagg 2000b: 312). Although this confirms the Assyrian date for the canal, the complex remains at the Negb site do not allow more precise chronology of its construction. Christopher Davey carried out a limited survey of the site in 1977.

37 See *CAD* (vol. N: 364ff. s.v. “narû”). See also Yamada 2000: 273–299; Russell 1999b; Shafer 1998; Morandi 1988; Börker-Klähn's 1982.

38 See *CAD* (vol. s: s.v. “salmu”). For a critical discussion of the concept, see Bahrani 2003: 121–148.

39 Now in the British Museum, London (Inv. No. 118883).

40 For discussions of this text, see Shafer 1998: 135–136, Liverani 1992: 27–28.

41 Grayson 1991: 319–320; text A.O.101.50, lines 21–34. The text comes from a stone foundation tablet, found in a stone box in Imgur-Enlil (Tell Balawat). The tablet is in British Museum (Inv. No. 90980).

Chapter 4: City and the Festival: Monuments, Urban Space, and Spatial Narratives

1 Spiro Kostof is one of the rare architectural historians whose corpus of work addressed the social relations behind the production of architectural space. Kostof wrote in 1985, that “architecture...is a social act – social both in method and purpose” (Kostof 1995: 7). On Kostof's contribution to architectural history, see also Favro 2000.

2 The contributions of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel de Certeau are fundamental in the formation of social theory that pertains to various aspects of the production of space. Bourdieu's articulation of a theory of practice (1977) and his concept of *habitus* (1990, 1993a, 1993b), as a *system of dispositions*, “a generative and structuring principle of both collective strategies and social practices” has been extremely influential (Lawrence and Low 1990: 469). Bourdieu's *habitus* acted as both the producer and product of history and this brilliantly applies to Henri Lefebvre's social space. On Bourdieu's key concepts, see Painter 2000. Lefebvre's contribution was already summarized above. The discussions of the relationship between power, knowledge and geographical space are extensively based on Foucault's interpretation of architecture as “political technology” (Lawrence and Law 1990: 484–485). With the help of Giddens's understanding of human agency on various levels of the society, the effectiveness of social action is acknowledged as the transformer of social systems, and therefore the role of various social groups and individuals in the making of space is addressed. De Certeau's work (1984) especially articulated on the concept of spatial practices, and the one-to-one relationship between everyday practices and the construction of space.

3 Originally published as *Production de l'espace* (Editions Anthropos, 1974). The literature on Lefebvre's work is vast, but now see Elden 2004, with critical text and bibliography.

4 The idea of the city as a utopic ideal is also expressed by Lewis Mumford. In *The City in History* he wrote: “[t]he city proved not merely a means of expressing in concrete terms the magnification of

sacred and secular power, but in a manner that went far beyond any conscious intention it also enlarged all the dimensions of life. Beginning as a representation of cosmos, a means of bringing heaven down to earth, the city became a symbol of the possible. Utopia was an integral part of its original constitution..." (Mumford 1961: 31).

5 For a series of papers on anthropological and ethnographic approaches to feasts understood as a social institution and cultural practice, see Dietler and Hayden (eds.) 2001. Schmandt-Besserat (2001) presents the third millennium lower Mesopotamian textual and art-historical evidence for feasts in the same volume. Knight (2001) associates the construction of ceremonial mounds with feasting in the American Southeast during the first millennium CE and this collective activity is introduced as a symbolic renewal of the world.

6 The literature on the urban landscape of Hattua is vast. A few important summary articles that discuss the ceremonial aspects of urban planning are Neve 1993a, 1999; Hawkins 1998b; Singer 1998b; Bryce 2002: 230–256; Mazoyer 2002; Seeher 2006.

7 On the KILLAM festival, see Singer 1983. In this festival, the king "moves from one gate of the palace to the next, and...several [ritual] objects are carried along in procession while he is waiting at the gate." Güterbock 1970: 178–179. On the AN.TAH.UM festival, see Erkut 1998, Cornelius 1970. On the *nuntarriyaha* festival, see Nakamura 2002. On Hittite festivals in general, see Bryce 2002: 194ff.; Ardžinba 1982; Güterbock 1970.

8 For a similar comparison of the two practices, see Güterbock 1970: 178; Oppenheim 1964: 139.

9 See discussion in Mallowan 1966 I: 122f. and Reade 2002b: 138.

10 Grayson 1991: 227; Northwest Palace Lion and Bull colossi

11 According to Wilkinson and Barbanes (2000), the construction of lower towns was a pervasive settlement strategy for the Early Iron Age–Early Neo-Assyrian sites. This widespread practice was probably reflected in the careful planning of lower towns in the capital cities of Assyria.

12 Very few of the fortification wall layouts of these cities are mapped archaeologically in a precise manner. However, published urban plans of these cities suggest orthogonal layouts, walls stretched straight in flat plains. See the discussion in Bunnens 1995. Mazzoni (1994: 329–330) attaches the circular form to a Middle Bronze Age Syrian tradition and bases it to the symbolism of “unity” and “centrality,” and she associates the rectangular form with the Mesopotamian-Assyrian tradition emulated by Syro-Hittite cities like Guzana.

13 J.E. Reade, s.v. “Ninive (Nineveh)” *RIA* 9 (2000) 419.

14 On Sargon's foundation of Dr-arrukn at Khorsabad, see Loud, Frankfort and Jacobsen 1936; Loud and Altman 1938; Caubet (ed.) 1995; Albenda 1986, 2003. Matthiae (1994) argues that the urban planning features of Dr-arrukn were heavily inspired by Kalhu. On Šîn-ahh-erba 's (Sennacherib) refoundation of Nnuwa and his building projects, see Stronach 1994a and 1995b; Lumsden 2000; Barbanes 1999: 92–97.

15 The stele (ND 1104) measures 104.5 cm by 128 cm. On the discovery of the stele, see Mallowan 1952: 7–10; 1966 I: 59–63. Mallowan (1966: 62) suggested that it must have been quarried from the environs of the site where limestone outcrops are abundant. The stele and its inscription were first published by D.J. Wiseman (1952), and also as A.0.101.30 in Grayson 1991: 288–293. The stele was transferred to the Mosul museum after the excavations. It is dated by Julian Reade (1985: 207) to have been erected most probably later

than 867 BC, possibly between 864–860. See also Postgate and Reade 1980: 320–321; Finet 1992; Lion and Michel 2003. Dating is based on the approximate dating of the king's campaigns and their mentions in texts. On the chronology of Ar-nsir-apli II's monuments, see Paley 1976: 145–155 and Russell 1999a: 14–19. It is clear that the construction of the Northwest Palace came late during the king's reign, at the earliest after his tenth campaign.

16 Even though several of Ar-nsir-apli II's inscriptions have duplicates or repeated passages in other monuments, the Banquet Stele's text is unique among all of the known texts of the king (138 are published in Grayson 1991). This supports the idea that the circumstances for the making and erecting of this monument were special and it was a significant commemorative event during the reign of Ar-nsir-apli. On this matter, see also Finet 1992.

17 Banquet Stele, lines 20–23. See Grayson 1991: 289, text A.O.101.30; Wiseman 1952: 29–30.

18 See s.v. “nmequ,” *CAD* N II: 160–163. The definition given in *CAD* is: “knowledge, experience, wisdom (referring to the body of experiences, knowledge, skills and traditions which are the basis of civilization as a whole), skill, cunning.”

19 On the ab‘u and Ullu festivals, see Cohen 1993: 321–326 and 337–340. ab‘u, the eleventh month of the Assyrian cultic calendar roughly corresponds to February and was one of the most intensely ceremonialized months with “six kettledrum performances.”

20 Grayson 1991: 293; A.O.101.30, lines 141–150. For discussions of Ar-nsir-apli's inauguration feast, see Wiseman 1952; Finet 1992. On the banquets and feasting as ceremonial and social events, see Collon 1992; Reade 1995; Joffe 1998b; Schmandt-Bessarat 2001.

21 On the urban morphology of ninth century Kalhu, see Curtis 1997: 141–144; Postgate and Reade 1980: 303–323; Mallowan 1966: 74–83; Oates 1968: 42ff.; Reade 1982; Barbanes 1999: 83–86; Novák 1999: 129–140; Oates and Oates 2001: 27–35. Unfortunately, no comprehensive topographical survey of the site has been carried out to date. Curtis (1997: 142) mentions the work of “an Italian team from the Centro Scavi, Turin, led by Paolo Fiorina” who “completed a contour plan of the entire city and undertook a surface-sherd survey,” but to my knowledge the results of this work were never published.

22 Today's Wadi al Shauf. In Felix Jones's map it is marked as Shor Derreh. See Reade 1982: figure 74; also Oates and Oates 2001: 27; Novák 1999: Abb. 22.

23 Loud and Altman 1938. For a comparison between the Nimrd and Khorsabad layouts, with special reference to *ekal marti* complexes, see Matthiae 1994. For the architectural similarities between Nimrd and Khorsabad *ekal maartis*, see Al-Khalesi 1977: 78–80.

24 See, for example, Reade 2000: 388–433; especially 419–420.

25 Layard observed fifty-eight small mounds along the north wall of the lower town, fifty along the eastern, probably indicating buttresses, towers, and gates. He excavated briefly at the probable site of the Nineveh Gate but was unsuccessful (in finding any sculpture, which he looked for). Layard 1853a: 656–657.

26 The gate's width was 4.50 m, and the street was more than 6 m wide in places. See Oates and Oates 2001: 31; Reade (2002b): 138.

27 This gully is often associated with a gate structure noted by Hormuzd Rassam, who described a ramped passageway defined by cut-stone masonry and a baked brick archway. See Postgate and Reade 1980: 307; Oates and Oates 2001: 31; Rassam 1897: 226.

28 The literature about the Northwest Palace is vast. See especially Postgate and Reade 1980: 304–307 and 311–314; Oates and Oates 2001: 36–70 for summary description and bibliography of archaeological reports. On Mallowan and his team's work in the building, see Mallowan 1966: 93–121. For a discussion of the contexts of monumental inscriptions, see Russell 1999: 9–63. The relief sculptures are published in Meuszyski 1981; Paley and Sobolewski 1987 and 1992. For critical discussions of the narrative relief program, see Winter 1981a, 1983b. On the sacred and ceremonial significance of the relief representations and sculpture, see Ataç 2010. For wall paintings, see Tomabechi 1986.

29 Mallowan 1966: 76–82. Mallowan's team investigated the fortification walls of the lower town and the eastern wall of the citadel in limited step trenches. A short stretch was uncovered in the area of the “Town Wall Palace” and by the Fort Shalmaneser, and they revealed a massive mudbrick wall (Mallowan 1957: 4). The eastern citadel wall proved to be 37 m wide and preserved to a height of at least 13 m (Mallowan 1966: 76).

30 This may be considered a bias resulting from the fact that the palaces of Tukult-Ninurta I in Aur and Kr-Tukult-Ninurta, Tukult-apil-earra I's palace in Aur, and others from the Early Iron Age are less known archaeologically. However, the innovative character of the orthostatic and sculptural program in Ar-nsir-apli's palace is usually accepted by scholars.

31 See s.v. “bt_{nu},” CAD B: 274–275. Usually written *é-nu* or *é-a-nu*, attested in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts, and generically means “inner part, interior.” More specific meaning of the word as an architectural-administrative term is given in CAD as “inner quarter of a palace or temple” or “personnel attached to the inner quarters of palace or temple.” There seems to be less evidence for the use of *bab_{nu}* in relation to *bt_{nu}*. See s.v. “bab_{nu}” CAD B: 7. Oppenheim discussed these two words as architectural terms, especially in reference to later Neo-Assyrian (eighth and seventh centuries) royal texts. He associated *bt_{nu}* with the royal gardens of late Neo-Assyrian palaces and the columned so-called *bt hilni* structures in them. Ar-n

šir-apli's Banquet Stele describes the installation of cedar doors being installed at the gates (*ina babniina*) of temples. It is hard to come to a conclusion without further investigation of textual and archaeological evidence, but it is safer to associate *babnu* with the concept of an architectural exterior/ a façade that bears monumentalized gate structures (consider Ninurta and arrat-Niphi temple façades for instance). *Btnu*, on the other hand, refers to the concept of an architectural interior in general and can possibly be associated with the non-public spaces of the palatial complex.

32 Mallowan identified the tribute bearers as “Anatolian(?) figures” (Mallowan 1966: 103); Winter associated them with Karkami, Bt Adni and Phoenicia, based on clothing and the objects they carried (Winter 1981a: 17). However, the ambiguity of the identity of these tribute-bearing figures and the emphasis on the unfamiliar exoticism in their goods, clothing and bodily gestures align better with the royal rhetoric in the Banquet Stele inscription discussed above, regarding the royal garden and the inauguration banquet.

33 Reade (2002b) has meticulously reviewed the archaeological evidence for the ziqqurat and the temples of the Nimrud citadel from the archival material from the British museum. Note that his reconstruction plan of the temple complexes (2002b: figure 2) is over ambitious, considering how little architectural information we have about some of these temples. See also Oates and Oates 2001: 107–110. On the architectural continuity of the Northwest Palace and the temple complexes, see Van Driel 1969: 14.

34 For a discussion of the evidence from Layard's cut in the area for the existence of such a gate, see Reade 2002b: 140, figure 4; Layard 1853a, Part II: 123ff.

35 Annus 2002: 5. See also Black and Green 1992: 142–143; Streck 2000: 512–522; Braun-Holzinger 2000: 522–524.

36 On the Ninurta temple, see Reade 2002b: 167ff; Oates and Oates

2001: 107–110; Postgate and Reade 1980: 308; Meuszysky 1972; Mallowan (1966: 84–92) re-excavated some of the rooms in the complex that were excavated but not understood very well by Layard 1853: 328–362.

37 Also known as the “Nimrud Monolith.” For the publication of its inscription, see Grayson 1991: 237–254; text. A.O.101.17. Now the stele is in the British Museum (WA 118805).

38 This lion dragon was also identified as Timat or Asakku. See Green 1994: 246–264; especially 258. Ninurta is depicted here in explicit iconographic reference to the Storm God/Adad, especially considering the three-pronged thunder bolt he is holding, and this may indicate a reflection of the pervasive cult of the Storm God in the Syro-Hittite cities on Ar-nsir-apli's cultic politics.

39 Pongratz-Leisten 1997a: 245–46; Annus 2002: 94–101; Lambert 1963.

40 On the *aktu*, see Black 1981; Black and Green 1992: 136–137; Cohen 1993: 400–453; Pongratz-Leisten 1994 (reviewed in George 1996 and Lambert 1997); Bidmead 2002; Novotny 2002.

41 The textual evidence about the *aktu* largely comes from letters, see Pongratz-Leisten 1997a. For the evidence for the observation of the *aktu* and the existence of an *aktu* house in Kalhu, see Cohen 1993: 427, note 1. On the *aktu* house of Aur inside and outside the city of Aur at the time of Sargon II and Sennacherib, see Van Driel 1969: 57–59 and 162–165.

42 On the archaeology of the Nabu temple complex, see Reade 2002b: 196–198; Oates and Oates 2001: 111–123; Mallowan 1966: 231–288; Oates 1957. See Reade 2002b: 198–201.

43 The stele was explicitly dedicated to Ninurta. It was discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the Nabû temple. See Grayson 1996: 180–188: text A.O.103.1. The shift of cult ideology is supported by the scarcity of major construction activity in the Ninurta temple in the eighth and seventh centuries when the temple of Nabû was substantially monumentalized.

44 On the intimate relationship between Assyrian territorial policy and religious ideology, see Holloway 2002 and Pongratz-Leisten 1999.

45 For a good summary of British excavation results at “Fort Shalmaneser”, see Oates and Oates 2001: 144–194; Mallowan 1966, volume 2.

46 The prism was found in Nineveh in 1927–1928, and published in Thompson 1931. A similar text is quoted in Oates and Oates 2001: 145. Other tablets and inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser, such as the inscribed door sill of ulmnu-aared III of Room S4 (Læssøe 1959) or tablet ND 7067 and ND 7054, refer to the *ekl marti* (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 49 no 1 and 65, no 13). See also ND 7072 from the *akintu*'s archive and ND 7010 from the room SE 8, excavated in 1958 (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 80, No.30 and 63, no.12).

47 See Reade 2002b: 196.

48 For the preliminary reports of the Polish excavations in the Central Building, see Meuszyski 1976a, 1976c; Sobolewski 1977, 1982b. The reliefs are published in Meuszyski 1976a: plates 8–15.

49 Oates and Oates 2001: 71–72; contra Reade (2002b: 196), who suggests that it may be a palatial structure linked to the Northwest Palace.

50 Reade 1980a. The stele is currently in the British Museum (Inv. 118800). Width of the best preserved fragments are approximately 80–81.5 cm wide.

51 On the “Broken Obelisk” and its inscription, see Grayson 1991: 99–105. On the “White Obelisk,” see Reade 1975; Pittman 1996b. A large number of fragmentary obelisks come from Nnuwa, especially from the area of the Itar temple area, and are dated to Aur-nsir-apli and ulmnu-aared. See Russell 1999b: 244–265. On the obelisk fragments from Aur, see Orlamünde 2003.

52 For the Black Obelisk inscription, see Grayson 1996: 62–71; text A.0.102.14.

53 Shafer 1998: 18 and Cat No. 8: 151–155; Oates and Oates 2001: 107. For the publication of the text, see Grayson 1991: 237–254, Text A.0.101.17.

54 Grayson 1991: text A.0.101.17. *salam bunnîya* in URU Aur-nsir-apli: i.89–90; foundation of Tuhan, *salam bunnîya* in Tuhan and the depositing of a *narû* in its wall: ii.5–20; *salam bunnîya* in the city of Mateiati: iv.7–18.

55 See, for example, Mazzoni 2002; Aro 2003; Hawkins (1982: 435) points out that “a detailed assessment of Syro-Hittite architecture remains a desideratum,” not fulfilled as of today. More recently, see Brown 2008 and Gilibert 2011.

56 See especially Hawkins 1980c. On the ancient names of Tell Ahmar, see Hawkins 1983, Bunnens 1995 and Dalley 1997b: 68–70. Associated clearly with *Mazuwati* of Hittite texts. Dalley (1997b: 68) suggests that Kr-ulmnu-aardu of the Assyrian textual record was used not for the entire city but presumably for the *kru*, the merchant neighborhood installed here by ulmnu-aardu III.

57 Winter 1983a: 181. A third colossal inscribed stele of the Storm God was recently found along the Euphrates between Tell Ahmar and Karkami, and is now in Aleppo Museum's central courtyard. It awaits publication (Aleppo Museum archaeologists, personal communication 2002).

58 TELL AHMAR 2, now in the Louvre Museum, Paris (Inv. AO 11505). See Hawkins 2000 I: 227–230 and plates 91–92.

59 Hawkins 2000 I: 239–243. Text TELL AHMAR 1, line 5. Compare this text with TELL AHMAR 3, line 1 (Hawkins 2000 I: 243). The stylistic and iconographic proximity of these monuments to the monuments of the

Suhis-Katuwas dynasty is significant (see discussion later in this note). An unprovenanced stele in the Elie Borrowski collection in the Tel Aviv Museum (designated as BOROWSKI 3 in Hawkins 2000 I: 230–231) is associated with the Masuwarean king Hamiyatas who commemorates the construction of the city Haruha in the inscription. However, the use of this stele as evidence is cautioned here because of the dubious status of the stele, which was acquired through the antiquities market. It was published in Singer 1989. Likewise, in a trilingual (Luwian, Aramaic, and Akkadian) inscription carved on the portal lions of the East Gate in Arslanta, a site located 35 km northeast of Tell Ahmar, Ninurta-bêl-usur, the Assyrian governor of K.r-ulmnu-aardu presents himself in the Luwian version as a Masuwarean ruler and commemorates his foundation of the city at Arslanta, Hatata (later Hadatu): “...-tas, Masuwarean Country-Lord, The city Hatata in one year I founded...” Hawkins 2000 I: 246–248 and plates 103–105. Text ARSLANTA. This is a double portal lion, found in Arslanta, but, as of today, one stands in a public park in Raqqa (south lion), the other in the Aleppo Museum (north lion). From this historical context, the lions must be dated to no later than mid-ninth century BCE.

60 The gate was excavated in 1929–1931. See Thureau-Dangin and Durand 1936: 84–96; 125–131 and Plan E; also Roobaert 1990. On the limited salvage excavations by Melbourne University between 1988 and 1997, see Bunnens (ed.) 1990; Bunnens 1991, 1994, 1995; Roobaert and Bunnens 1999. Arlette Roobaert (1990: 132–133) suggests that even though the lions were inscribed at the time of Assyrian *turtu* ami-ilu between 781 and 784 BCE, it is likely that they were carved much earlier in the ninth century.

61 See Fugmann 1958; Riis and Buhl 1990; Hawkins 2000: 402.

62 See Hawkins 2000: 398–423, especially the texts IX.5 HINES, an orthostat block that reads, “I (am) Urhilina, Paritas's son, Hamathite King. This city I built and this stele I set up to Ba'alatis”. (Hawkins 2000: 409); IX.8 HAMA 1–3 which reads “I (am) Uratamis, Urhilina's son, Hamathite king, I myself built this fortress”. (Hawkins 2000: 413).

63 For the original and detailed report of the excavations and architecture, see Koldewey 1898. For a brief summary of the levels, see Lehmann 1994. For recent archaeological work at Zincirli, see Casana and Hermann 2010; Schloen and Fink 2009.

64 Harrison 2001a: 124–126; Haines 1971: 37–58. Several hieroglyphic Luwian monuments were recovered from the site (Hawkins 2000: 365–378).

65 For geographical discussions concerning the site, see Hawkins 1980a: 435; Winter 1983a: 177–178.

66 Woolley in Woolley and Barnett 1952: 205–226. Woolley expressed his frustration with the “maze of very indifferent walls of mudbrick or rubble masonry, closely superimposed, constantly patched and rebuilt, representing a fairly continuous occupation...” (ibid 211). Woolley felt no hesitation in destroying this complex archaeological stratigraphy, as they lacked any monumental features.

67 Woolley in Woolley and Barnett 1952: 210–214, Plates 49–51. The building was originally labeled as “Sargon’s fort” based on a clearly out-of-context single inscribed brick, but in the latest volume, he changed his interpretation and identified the building as the Kubaba Temple. There is no archaeological or epigraphic evidence that supports this hypothesis (cf. Hawkins 1980a: 436).

68 Woolley in Woolley and Barnett 1952: 157–204. The area of the “Great Staircase,” “Long Wall of Sculpture,” and the “Temple of the Storm God” was referred to by Woolley as the “Lower Palace area.” Across from this complex, the “King’s Gate,” “Processional Entry,” “Royal Buttress,” and “Herald’s Wall” form yet another building ensemble. Woolley treated the “Hilani” and the “Water Gate” separately. Strikingly, nowhere in Karkami excavation reports, does there exist a discussion of the entire complex. See, however, briefly Winter 1983a: 180, more thoroughly Mazzoni 1997b. The ensemble was extensively discussed from the point of view of stylistic analyses

of pictorial representations and their dating. E.g. Güterbock 1954, Ussishkin 1976; Mallowan 1972; Orthmann 1971.

69 Woolley 1952: 233–234. On the architecture and sculpture of the Water Gate see Woolley and Barnett 1921: 103–110; Pl. 16; Orthmann 1971: 497–498, pl. 20–21; Genge 1978 I: 78f.; Özyar 1991: 18–35; Özyar 1998a: 634–635; Gilibert 2011: 25. Although its northern half was destroyed by later constructions, the gate can be reconstructed from the evidence of the southern section. Naumann (1971: 288–289, 301) compares the architecture of the gate to the gates in Tell Atchana/Alalah and Boazköy/Hattua.

70 This plan type is usually identified in the scholarly literature as a distinctive feature of the second millennium architectural traditions in Syria, Anatolia, and Palestine. See Gregori 1986; Naumann 1971.

71 Akurgal (1968, 95) has suggested that the double representation of the Storm God in the Malatya relief (Delaporte 1940, Relief K pl. 24) – where the god rides a chariot and receives libation from the king – a should be considered as a narrative scene and shows a very early Assyrian influence. It is clear that Akurgal implicitly compares the scene to the well-known symbol *socle* of Tukult-Ninurta I (1244–1208) from Assur, in which the king is shown in movement performing a ritual. Cf. Moortgat 1969, figure 246; Pittman 1996b, 350. This comparison was already brought by Güterbock (1957, 65). Akurgal's stylistic argumentations sometimes become very circular, but this suggestion may well prove true, because such narrative device in pictorial representation is inherently Mesopotamian and virtually absent in Anatolian art.

72 On the discovery and the archaeological context of the monument, see Hawkins 2000 I: 116–117, Woolley 1952: 160–161.

73 Hawkins 2000 I: 118–121, text II.19. KARKAMI A20a1, A20a2 and A23.

74 Woolley 1952: 163 and pl. 30. See also Hawkins 2000 I: 84. The lions were excavated in nearly complete form in 1878–1881 by Henderson and his team, but the findspot was unfortunately not located. The lions were dragged toward the Water Gate to be transported by water but a change of decision left them abandoned at the site until Woolley and his team rediscovered them in April 1912, broken in multiple pieces. Woolley's workmen, who remembered the Henderson excavations, reported that the lions came from the Great Staircase. These pieces are currently in Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum (Inv. 60, 69) but they are not exhibited. In the summer of 2002, with a research permit at the museum, I was kindly invited by the director to study these pieces, which they planned to prepare for exhibition.

75 Hawkins 2000 I: 85–86, Text II.4–5 KARKAMI A14b, lines 1–3 and KARKAMI A14a, line 6.

76 Woolley 1952: 164–167. For a catalog of the orthostats in the Long Wall, see Orthmann 1971: 501–503; Özyar 1991: 76–87.

77 Hawkins 2000 I: 88–89, text II.6 KARKAMI A1a, line 4.

78 Hawkins interprets the god from the top of the stairs to the bottom as Tarhunzas (raised arm), Kubaba (holding an ear of grain), Karhuhas (with spear), and an unidentified deity, and Naked Goddess (1972: 106–107).

79 This reading of the pictorial program retrospectively refutes Ussishkin's argument (1976) that the two halves of the wall were constructed in separate time periods, and supports Hawkins's original assessment (1972). See also Özyar 1991: 82–83.

80 See Hawkins 2000 I: 108–112, text II.13 + 14 KARKAMI A2 + 3.

81 Based on the epigraphic evidence and the coherence of the architectural ensemble. On the dating of the complex to Suhis II and Katuwas, see Güterbock 1954; Hawkins 1972; Winter 1973: 169. Özyar (1992: 87) suggests that the sacred procession orthostats were raised at a later time than the southern sector based on purely stylistic criteria, but agrees with Hawkins in assigning the original construction to Suhis II. I argue here that the military narrative and the sacred procession are obviously connected by the inscription of *BONUS-tis*, the wife of Suhis II. Moreover, the location of the sacred procession orthostats immediately below the entrance of the Storm God temple's entrance suggests that the Long Wall and the Storm God temple were planned at the same time.

82 Woolley 1952: 185–191; Orthmann 1971: 503–505. For a detailed discussion of the scenes, see Özyar 1992: 36–52. She interpreted all of these orthostats as spoliated pieces produced at different periods of time (ibid 52).

83 Woolley 1952: 192–204; Orthmann 1971: 510–512; Özyar 1992: 53–63.

84 See, for example, Mazzoni 1997b: 326; Özyar 1992: 72–75.

85 Hawkins 2000 I: 103, Text Karkami A11b3-c4. See also Hawkins 1981.

86 For the archaeological report of the excavation of Hilani building, see Woolley 1952: 176–184.

87 See Naumann 1971: 483; Woolley 1952: 184. Further reasoning for this hypothesis will be presented elsewhere.

88 Hawkins 2000 I.1: 95–96; text II.9. KARKAMI A11a (A8). The orthostat is now fragmentary, largely in the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara (nos. 10900a-h), with one fragment in the British Museum (BM 117916). It is a “basalt orthostat in the form of a rebated door jamb for right side of entrance bearing 7 line inscription” (Hawkins 2000: 94).

89 This philological connection was convincingly established by Singer 1975, and to my knowledge has not been challenged.

90 Land of Hatti was understood as the region around Karkami during the Iron Age. See, for example, Tukult-apil-Earra's “Summary Inscription” No.7 from Kalhu/Nimrud (Tablet K 3751), Reverse: line 18’ in Tadmor 1994: 172–173. This architectural feature was incorporated into the king's own “cedar” palace at Kalhu. For other attestations, see s.v. CAD H: 405; J. Renger and B. Hrouda, s.v. “*hilni, bt*” RLA 4: 405–409; Winter 1982, especially 357f. with bibliography in 373: note 18.

91 *Bt hilni* is one of the most discussed issues in Near Eastern architecture (Frankfort 1952; Wachsmuth 1958; Akurgal 1968: 69–80; Renger and Hrouda 1975; Naumann 1971: 417f.; Börker-Klähn 1980; Winter 1982). In the Syro-Hittite *bt hilnis* that Frankfurt and Akurgal discuss – i.e. those of Tell Ta'ynat, Tell Halaf, Sakçagözü, and Zincirli – the columnar portico acts as an anteroom to an oblong rectangular “throne-room” with a hearth in the middle. In the Early Iron Age palace at Tell Halaf, the three colossal columns of the portico were anthropomorphic: two men and a woman stood on two lions and a bull, and the entire façade of the building was lined with carved orthostats (see especially Mellink 1974, 209–212). The earliest appearance of this significant architectural layout, however, is widely accepted to be the most prominent spatial unit within the Palace complex in Alalah IV of the fifteenth to fourteenth centuries BCE, where a two columned porch that opened to a courtyard was decorated with polished basalt orthostats (Woolley 1955, 112) and perhaps the early second millennium Northern palace at Ebla (Matthiae 1997).

92 For the attestations of *é.hilammar* in Hittite texts, see Singer 1975. The full publication of the KILAM festival is Singer 1983. Naumann (1971: 455) identified the Hittite *é.hilammar* with the pillared halls before the cult rooms of the temples at Hattua and those usually opened to a large courtyard, confirming the association with the word *hila-*, “courtyard” (Singer 1975: 76).

93 On the limited evidence concerning Syro-Hittite cult practices, see Popko 1995: 163–171. On the history of the cult of the Storm God in North Syria, see Klengel 1965; Souek and Siegelová 1974; Deighton 1982; Houvink ten Cate 1992a; Alexander 2002; Schwemer 2001; Green 2003.

94 On architectural spolia as an eloquent practice, see Hansen 2003.

Chapter 5: Upright Stones and Building Stories: Architectural Technologies and the Poetics of Urban Space

1 Geertz refers here to a Weberian semiotic understanding of culture. He writes, “as interworked systems of construable signs...culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions, or processes can be casually attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly – that is, thickly – described” (Geertz 1973: 14). See especially his two essays “Thick description: toward an interpretive theory of culture” (Geertz 1973: 3–30) and “Ideology as a cultural system” (Geertz 1973: 193–233). For a criticism of the semiotic approach to understanding social space, cf. Lefebvre 1991: 220f.

2 See especially “Preface” in Holliday 2002: xv–xxv. On the constitution of the social world, its practices and representations, see especially Bourdieu 1977 and Chartier 1997.

3 Blais 1999: 2–3, 5. Blais's discussion is centered on the sixteenth

century works of François Rabelais and Philibert de l'Orme.

4 On the sociopolitical and economical symbolism of monumental architecture, see Trigger 1990. The mobility of craftsman was especially evident in the Late Bronze Age Near East. See Moorey 2001.

5 Compare, however, Lefebvre 1991: 169–228. In the Ancient Near Eastern scholarship, the term is sometimes used with quite different meanings; see, for example, Smith 1999, but compare to the more standard use of the term in Moortgat 1969: 129; which was apparently misunderstood in Paley 1976: 18, n.46. For further discussion see following discussion.

6 For recent important discussions of technological style, see several articles in Summers 2003: 74–86; Shortland (ed.) 2001; Chilton (ed.) 1999; Stark (ed.) 1998; Winter 1998; Helms 1993. Several of these scholars refer to Leroi-Gourhan's concept of *chaîne opératoire* “operational sequences” in the process of manufacture. See Leroi-Gourhan 1993 (1964) and epigraph to this chapter.

7 Compare this view to Binford 1967 and other processual approaches, for instance.

8 Chilton 1999: 3, quoting Lechtman 1977: 17.

9 On the idea of tectonic aesthetics and tectonic culture, see Frampton 1990, 1995; Hartoonian 1994; Schwarzer 1993. This discussion in architectural history and theory mainly derives from Karl Bötticher and Gottfried Semper's landmark studies in the mid-nineteenth century. Both of the theories were devised through the study of ancient architecture, therefore I believe employing the issue of tectonic culture here is relevant. See Bötticher 1844–1852 and Semper 2004 (1860–1863). Hartoonian (1994: 16f.) defines the “tectonic” as “the in-between of construction and signification.”

10 Translated by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Michael Robinson (Semper 2004: 312).

11 *Orthostatês*, simply means in ancient Greek “one who stands upright” but also attested with the specific architectural meaning “building stones laid with their longest edges vertical” in a number of Greek building inscriptions (H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. Oxford 1940: 1249). For the attestations of the word in architectural contexts, see for instance *IG* 12.372, a building account of the Erechtheion from Athens (409–405 BCE), especially line 60 and others; *IG* 22.1668, specifications for the Skeuothekē of Euthydemos and Philon in Peiraieus, from Peiraieus (347–346 BCE), especially line 19; also *IG* 42[1].103, building accounts of the Tholos from Epidauros Asklepieion (ca. 370–340 BCE), line 74 and others. For its use as an architectural term in the ancient Near East, s.v. “orthostat” in Leick 1988: 154; Aurenche 1977: 128; Hult 1983: 91; Arnold 1991: 296. The technical aspects are most extensively discussed in Naumann 1971, especially 75–86. Naumann (1971: 75, n. 13) remarked on both the awkwardness and the inevitability of using a Greek architectural term so widely in Near Eastern contexts, in the absence of an encompassing local term. The Akkadian words that were used by Assyrians for stone slabs were *agurru* and *askupptu*; the Luwian term used by the Late Hittite kings of Karkami, was *kuttaar*. On the significance of these terms, see continuing discussion.

12 “weathering, n.” OED Online. June 2011. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/226660?rskey=WLDFOO&result=1> (accessed July 09, 2011).

13 I am particularly grateful to Yusuf Civelek, who brought this important study to my attention.

14 For Mesopotamian building techniques in general, see Moorey 1994: 302–362. There is a vast variety of techniques for wall construction in mud, using pisé, sun-dried or kiln-fired mudbricks, with varying combinations of timber framing, stone foundations, and

surface treatment. Rudolf Naumann's seminal volume *Architektur Kleinasiens* (1971) still offers the most detailed account of architectural technology, but it only covers Anatolia and North Syria from prehistory to the Late Iron Age. On mudbrick, see also Oates 1990. For ancient building technologies, see now Wright 2000a, especially 40–49 on Mesopotamia and 69–78 for Levant and the Aegean. On the architectural technologies concerning sun-dried and kiln-fired bricks, see Sauvage 1998.

15 This technique is referred as *Mauersockel* (“wall socle”) in Naumann (1971) as opposed to *Orthostaten*.

16 The bibliography of the art historical scholarship on the Assyrian programs is vast. For the most up-to-date list of references, see Russell 1999a and 1999b; Winter 1997: 377 n. 1; Pittman 1996b: 334–335 nos. 1–4; Cheng and Fedman (eds.) 2007. For an articulate discussion of the recent approaches to Assyrian relief programs, see Winter 1997: 359f. and especially 377 n.2. It is important to note that only with primary publication of the reliefs and the monumental inscriptions that accompany them have such studies recently become possible, including the present contribution.

17 On the introduction of Assyrian sculpture to European museums, see Larsen 1996; Bohrer 1989, 2003. See also Winter 2002b, especially 6 ff. on how European aesthetic judgment was applied to the Mesopotamian artifacts. This cultural confrontation in the museum contexts was often painful, leading to “surgical interventions that made ‘art’ out of the reliefs by cutting semi-human figures down to what would correspond to good Western portrait bust formats” (Winter 2002b: 10). Wall painting programs are much more difficult to study due to their fragmentary state of preservation. One exception perhaps is the wall paintings of the Late Assyrian palace at Tell Ahmar, ancient Til Barsip/Kr-ulmnu-Aardu. See, for example, Tomabechi 1983.

18 Earlier, Reade (1980b) and Winter (1983b) addressed this issue in various articles. John M. Russell's recent work, however, has provided perhaps the most important contribution to the study of the

“architectural context” of orthostats: see especially Russell 1991 and 1999a. For the Northwest Palace of Ar-nisir-apli II, Russell (1999a: 662) attempted “to offer an interpretation of the relationship between the decoration and functions of various parts of the palace.” For a spatialized reconsideration of relief panels of the “White Obelisk” see Pittman 1996; for another recent architectural study of Sennacherib’s Southwest Palace at Nineveh/Nnuwa, see McCormick 2002: 45–86.

19 It should be pointed out that the contemporaneous Urartian Kingdom could also be considered within this sphere of interaction, but this will not be pursued presently. A recently excavated mid-seventh century BCE Urartian *susi* temple to the god Haldi at the modern site of Ayanis, ancient Rusahinili Eiduru-kai, on the Eastern coast of Lake Van revealed an orthostat program in the cult chamber. The three courses of ashlar masonry at the dado level feature intaglio decoration of mythical and apotropaic figures. See Çilingiroğlu 2001: 37–65, especially figures 28–30. This innovation at the time of the Urartian king Rusa II obviously suggests that Urartian craftsmen were benefiting from the circulation of architectural knowledge in the Upper Mesopotamia.

20 Expression borrowed from Winter 1981a: 31. See also, for example, Paley 1976: 4–6; Reade 1981: 149; Cifarelli 1998: 210 and n. 3; Russell 1998: 655; Barbanes 1999: 83–86.

21 Reade (1979a) presents an overall diachronic account of the architectural techniques involved in the Assyrian palace programs, with a heavy emphasis on the pictorial aspects. The survey of the narrative quality of Assyrian visual programs is presented in Reade 1979b. These articles are based on Reade’s 1965 dissertation.

22 It has been suggested that each one of the eight *é.GAL* (*ekallu* = palace, literally “large house”) may refer to different architectural units in the palace complex (Grayson 1991: 288; Wiseman 1952: 26–27). They may even correspond to eight throne rooms/reception suites. For a typological study of “state apartments” see Turner 1970.

23 The primary publication of the sculpted orthostats from the Northwest Palace was accomplished painstakingly by the coordinated efforts of J. Meuszyski, S.M. Paley, and R. Sobolewski. See Paley 1976, Meuszyski 1981, Paley and Sobolewski 1987 and 1992.

24 The translation presented here is mine, based extensively on Grayson (1991: 289f.) and Wiseman (1952), with revisions by Postgate (1973: n.266). For other translations, cf. Grayson 1972/76, II: 17.674–682; Oppenheim in Pritchard 1969, 99–104.

25 CAD article mentions that with the adjective DURU₅, the word NA4.ZA.GIN.DURU₅ may refer to “a type of lapis lazuli with a wet looking surface” (CAD Z: 11). Postgate and Reade (1980: 311) also prefers to translate as “*zagindurû* paint,” while Moorey (1994: 315) follows “greenish glaze” either as “mural painting” or “glazed-brick friezes.” A.L. Oppenheim actually translates it as: “my heroic deeds I painted on their (the palaces’) walls with vivid wall paint” (Pritchard 1969: 100). It seems unlikely that *zagindurê* might be referring to glazed bricks and the way they form pictorial scenes in Fort Shalmaneser of Shalmaneser III in Nimrd because in line 32 this technique is actually expressed as NA4 *a-gûr-ri ina* NA4.ZA.GIN, “with baked bricks in lapis lazuli color (blue-glazed?).” See CAD A: 162, s.v. “agurru.”

26 On the use of color in Nimrd orthostats, see especially Tomabechi 1986: 43–45 and Paley 1976: 10–11; contra Mallowan 1966: 105 and Reade 1979a: 18, who argued that the application of color pigments were partial. In one of his display inscriptions, Sargon II is very explicit about the fact that his limestone orthostats (*askuppi* NA4 *pili rabâti*) were painted; see Kinnier-Wilson 1972: 67, who identifies *lu-urraku* as “painter-artist.”

27 See especially Tomabechi 1986 and Nunn 1988: 123–124. On the fresco fragments of a chariot scene excavated by Mallowan in the southeast sector of Throne Room B, cf. Mallowan 1952: 10; on the fragments in Room F as well as B, Mallowan 1953: 26–27.

28 Tomabechi 1986: 53. Moorey (1994: 327–328) remarked that there is no analytical evidence for the use of powdered lapis lazuli as pigment for the murals before the Sasanian period. On the technology of Egyptian Blue in Mesopotamia, see Moorey 1994: 186–189.

29 Andrae 1925: 25–31; Andrae 1977: 135; Moorey 1994: 315; Nunn 1988: 166–167; Reade 1979a: 19. The Anu-Adad temple brick orthostats with the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II were found reused near the eastern corner of the Adad ziqqurat over the brick pavement of Shalmaneser III, most possibly originally erected in Tukulti-Ninurta II's palace at Aur, as Andrae (1977: 135) suggested. The orthostats are 8–10 cm thick, and one much cited complete example with a chariot scene measures 66.5 cm by 46.5 cm. A similar orthostat was found “in a small late Assyrian dwelling-house built on the inner northwest corner of the outer line of the late Assyrian city wall.” Andrae 1925: 29. It may also be a spoliated piece, so dating is controversial. The orthostats are illustrated in Andrae 1925: pl. 7–10; Andrae 1938: p. 65a and Reade 1983, figure 20; Nunn 1988: pl. 121–122.

30 On the nature of this – now lost – evidence, see also Moorey 1994: 315–316. Layard calls them “painted baked bricks,” whereas Moorey rightly points out that he actually means “glazed.” Reportedly, they were inscribed with the name of Ar-nsir-apli II (Layard 1849 II: 14).

31 For Shalmaneser III's *ekal maarti* (known as Fort Shalmaneser in literature) I refer to the spectacular glazed brick panel surmounting doorway of Room T3 to Courtyard T in the southeast section of the building complex and the glazed brick friezes of rosettes that were found in various parts in the building. See Moorey 1994: 316; Oates and Oates 2002: 144–194, especially 182–186 and figs 112, 113 and the unlabeled photograph on p.184. The doorway connecting T21 and T27, “figures c. 1.50 m. high, dressed in fish cloaks” were represented as a dado-level. “In the north-east doorway of T27 was [a] genie figure...and on the north jamb of the doorway, c.2.0 m. above the sill, a standing bull, facing outwards” (Oates and Oates 2002: 182).

32 The palace was excavated in 1929–1931 and the earliest phase of

the wall paintings are dated to either the time of the *turtanu* am-lu or the king Tiglat-pileser III (Nunn 1988: 118), that is sometime in the second or third quarter of eighth century BCE. On Til Barsip wall paintings, see Moorey 1994: 316; Nunn 1988: 103–123; Tomabechi 1983.

33 For recent work on these wall paintings see Eickstedt, Unger and Wartke 1994. The watercolor drawings of the paintings were published in Andrae 1925, with notes especially in 11–20. See Ralf-Bernhardt Wartke in Harper et al. 1995: 110–111; Nunn 1988: 97–98, pl. 75–76.

34 On the use of bitumen in Mesopotamian architecture, see Moorey 1994: 32 and 332–335; Forbes 1955 I: 71–83. The nearest source of bitumen was in the Kerkuk region between the Lower Zab and Diyala. For the archaeological evidence for the use of bitumen in the Northwest Palace, see Oates and Oates 2002: 61.

35 *Gassu*, identified as gypsum stone in reference to Tukult-apil-earra III's inscribed thresholds in Nimrud, is much more rarely used. See Lackenbacher 1982: 89–91. On the basis of stone artifacts with self-explanatory inscriptions, Postgate (1997: 209) identifies *ginugallu* as “calcite or fine-grained white limestone,” whereas the third millennium BCE lexical text HARRA-*hubullu* XVI (suggests “alabaster” (= *Sum.* NA4.GI.NU11.GAL) (Postgate 1997a: 215).

36 On these Assyrian quarries, see Russell 1991: 94–100 and Reade 1990. For locations, see Parpola and Porter (eds.) 2001: Map 4, Grid B5 and Map 28, Grid 28.

37 Work on ancient Near Eastern stone masonry technology involving various tools is limited. For Achaemenid Pasagadae, see Nylander 1970; for Pharaonic Egypt, Arnold 1991.

38 See Oppenheim 1977: 322. For a survey of the development of iron technology in Assyria see Pleiner and Bjorkman 1974.

39 Pleiner and Bjorkman 1974: 292; Kuhrt 1995 II: 409. For a map of “Assyrian iron income” see Pleiner and Bjorkman 1974: figure 7.

40 For some attempts toward the study of architectonic elements of the palace with some useful architectural drawings, see Sobolewski 1982a and 1994.

41 For the preliminary excavation report, where much detail is presented, see Mallowan 1953: 38–42; see also Mallowan 1966 I: 74–83. It is notable that the stone used here is characterized by Mallowan as hard limestone as opposed to the soft gypsum of the palace (Mallowan 1953: 42).

42 For the extremely informative architectural system section and elevation drawings of the quay wall by J.H. Reid, see Mallowan 1966 I: figures 30–31; Mallowan 1953: figure 5. The mudbrick wall itself had a 14.7 m. thickness in this area.

43 Masonry chips were found in the debris against the quay wall at the top level of the fifth rusticated stone course, indicating that the finely dressed faces of the upper courses must have been chiseled in situ. See Mallowan 1953: 41.

44 On Layard's excavation of the Ninurta and arrat-Niphi temples, see now Reade 2002b: 167–193. British archaeologists' work in the area is summarized in Mallowan 1966 I: 85–92; also Oates and Oates 2002: 107–110. Meuszyski (1972: 52–67) attempted to reconstruct the placement of orthostats on the Ninurta temple walls.

45 Lion inscriptions of the arrat-niphi temple is published in Grayson

1991: 283–286 and 295–297: text A.0.101.28 (obverse) and 32 (reverse). One of the lions is in the British Museum (BM 118195), and the other is in Mosul Museum.

46 Room numbers are given here in reference to three different plans: that of Layard's (2002b: figure 20 in lowercase letters), that of Mallowan's (Mallowan 1966 I: figure 35, Arabic numerals), and that of Reade's reconstruction (Reade 2002b: figure 2, capital letters); e.g. Room 4=c in Mallowan and Layard's plans, respectively. For the inscription of the stele, see Grayson 1991: 237–254; text A.0.101.17. The stele is also referred as the “Nimrud Monolith.” Originally discovered by Layard in 1850, the stele is now located in the British Museum (Inv. No: BM 118805, 51–9-2,32 = old no. 847). Grayson notes significant deterioration of the inscription at the time of his reading in comparison to the original reading of the text by King and Le Gac. The monument is Cat. No. 8 in Ann T. Shafer's dissertation (1998: 151–155 and Plate 3). Height = 295 cm, width = 138 cm, thickness = 38 cm; includes 568 lines of inscription covering all sides of the monument. This indicates that the stele was erected in a central location in the courtyard. Because the inscription gives the accounts of the first five campaigns of the king, the stele is dated approximately to 879 BCE or slightly later. See also Postgate and Reade 1980: 322.

47 On the continuity of narrative tradition in the Middle and Late Assyrian artisanal traditions, see now Reade 1979b and most recently Pittman 1996.

48 Hawkins 1988, 1995a and 1995b. In light of two seal impressions of Kuzi-Teub, “the Great King, Hero of Karkami” on bullae excavated at Lidar Höyük (on the east bank of the Euphrates north of Samsat, Turkey), Hawkins managed to establish a dynastic link between the imperial dynasty at Karkami and the local Luwian dynasty at Melid.

49 Most crucial in this regard is Winter 1982 in which she used the architectural building type called *bt hilni* as a paradigm to illustrate the Assyrian practices of appropriating North Syrian elements. M. Cifarelli (1998: 210) wrote: “[e]ven the choice of stone relief as the medium for palace decoration in this period has ideological

implications. The application of this elaborately carved stone ‘wallpaper’ to the mud-brick palace walls involved the adaptation of an essentially foreign, in this case north Syrian, medium of architectural decoration to an already ancient Assyrian tradition in style and subject matter.” J.M. Russell (1999a, 229) came to the same conclusion, having examined the palace wall inscriptions of Ar-nsir-apli II: “[i]t is surely no coincidence, therefore, that sculptural wall slabs first appear in Assyrian buildings immediately following Ar-nsir-apli return from Carchemish. Whereas the imagery of Ar-nsir-apli palace reliefs has precedents in Middle Assyrian wall paintings and cylinder seals, in the White Obelisk, and in the glazed orthostat tiles of Tukulti-Ninurta II, the application of this imagery to sculptured wall reliefs is apparently entirely new, a concept with a direct source in the architecture of Carchemish. Indeed, with its gateway colossi and sculptured wall slabs, Ar-nsir-apli palace was the first Assyrian palace in the style that later kings would describe as ‘like a palace of the land Hatti,’ an architectural similarity that nicely complements the inscribed textual references to the extent of Ar-nsir-apli realm. Later Assyrian kings, starting with Tukulti-apil-earra III, would consciously emulate North Syrian palaces by building *bit hīlanis* ‘like a palace of the land Hatti’ in their palaces in Assyria.” On the other hand, in several recent publications, the idea that Ar-nsir-apli II’s campaigns to the west may have inspired him and his artisans about carved wall slabs for his ongoing construction project has been accepted without much articulation and generally in passing. For example, Postgate (1992c: 260) argued that Assyrian palace program originated “from the merging of two traditions: from the woven and painted wall decoration of Middle Assyrian palaces, and the use of rows of stone orthostats on exterior walls in the Aramaean and Neo-Hittite townships of northern Syria.” Moorey (1994: 343) pointed out to Ar-nsir-apli II’s settlement of prisoners from Hatti in Kalhu and that the use of craftsmen from this region might have directly influenced the nature of the program at Kalhu. Collon (1995, 130) remarked that, despite this well-agreed inspiration model, “the execution was in a different style and on quite another scale.” See also Moortgat 1969; 131–132; Paley 1976: 6; Curtis and Reade 1995: 40; and Kuhrt 1995: 485–486.

50 In 1968, a fragmentary basalt statue with cuneiform inscription on its torso in Akkadian was excavated at Tell Mardikh citadel out of stratigraphic context. The inscription is a dedicatory inscription of [Y]ibbit-Lim, “king of the Eblaite dynasty” to the goddess Itar (concerning a cult basin). Elaborately carved basalt cult basins with

cultic scenes are known among the finds in MB levels at Ebla, especially Temples B1, N, and D. They were probably an important aspect of the temple furniture; see Matthiae 1997: 400–404 and figures 14.21, 22, and 23. The inscription not only confirmed the identification of the site with Ebla, but also was suggestive of the nature of kingship in the earlier part of the Middle Bronze Age. Note that Pinnock (2001) follows low chronology (favored in latest scholarly opinion) and places the beginning of Middle Bronze Age I around 1900 BCE and its end around 1650 BCE; whereas Matthiae (at least in 1997) follows Middle Chronology and dates MB I to c 2000–1800 BCE and MB II to 1800–1600 BCE. On the recent scholarly opinion on chronologies in favor of low, see now Reade 2001; for a general review of Syria-Palestinian chronologies, see Dever 1992a.

51 For a detailed architectural description of the gate, see Matthiae 1997: 382 and figure 14.2; Matthiae 1981a: 118–123.

52 They are often referred to as “three-entrance gates.” See especially Gregori 1986 and Ussishkin 1989. The significant component of the earthen rampart on the outer face of these fortifications is also a shared feature. See, for example, Parr 1968. The other gates of Ebla – namely the “Euphrates” (Northeast) gate (Area BB), the “Desert” (Southeast) gate (Area L), and the “Aleppo” (North) gate (Area DD) – are in the course of excavation and not fully published. For a plan of the Euphrates Gate, see Matthiae 2000: 1034–1035 and Pinnock 2001: figure 16. In a recent excavation report on the Middle Bronze II fortress on the western ramparts of Ebla, Peyronel (2000) reports the use of limestone orthostatic slabs.

53 Matthiae 1997: 399–400; Ussishkin 1989: 485.

54 On the Syro-Hittite gates and their ceremonial function, see Mazzoni 1997b.

55 The two other palace complexes of the time period were less preserved; see Matthiae 1997: 385–387.

56 Paolo Matthiae referred this “architectural type” as “Old Syrian reception suite...characterized by the latitudinal tripartition of the pattern, the larger width of the central sector, its subdivision in audience room and vestibule by means of a portico, the irregular form of the smaller side wings...” (Matthiae 1997: 387). He follows the same pattern in the palaces of Alalah Level VII and Tilmen Höyük Level IIc3. For these examples, see discussion later in this chapter. On the Old Syrian reception suites, see Matthiae 1984 and 1990a.

57 Matthiae 1997: 404 and figure 14.24; see also Matthiae et al. (eds.) 1995: 390–391; cat. no. 236 with good quality photographs (p. 390 and 403) and drawings of all four sides of the stele. It is now in Idlib Museum in Syria. The top part is missing and it is conjectured to have had a semicircular apex.

58 On the basalt lustral basins, see Matthiae et al. 1995: 421–422: cat. nos. 290–291 and discussion later in note 61.

59 This flourishing was especially visible at the time of Yarim-Lim, king of Halab/Yamhad, a contemporary and ally of Zimri-Lim of Mari. On the fragmented history of the kingdom of Yamhad based on literary sources, see Klengel 1992: 44–64; Kupper 1963: 32–38.

60 Preliminary report of the 1996–1997 season appeared in Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998. Later, Kohlmeyer published a small monograph on the temple (2000a), where he indicates that the first volume of the excavations *Qal'at Halab* – I is under preparation and will report 1996–1998 campaigns (Kohlmeyer 2000a: 5, n.1). Two reviews of this book appeared in *ZA* 91 (2001) 308–309 (U. Seidl) and *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 96 (2001) 539–541 (R.B. Wartke). A detailed archaeological report on the 1996–1999 seasons appeared in Kohlmeyer 2000b. A brief report on 1996–97 seasons in English can be seen in Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2000. For a plan of the temple see Kohlmeyer 2000a: Abb.6; Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 1998: Abb.3; Kohlmeyer 2000b: Plan 2. See now Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Kay Kohlmeyer,

director of the Aleppo citadel excavations for allowing me to study the recently excavated temple orthostats in the summer of 2002.

61 Another hypothesis about such dowel holes was put forward by Leonard Woolley, who excavated at Karkam and Alalah and found that some of these mortises were filled with clean sand. He argued that they must have been intended to serve as lewis-holes to shift heavy blocks in place (on Karkam orthostats, see Woolley and Barnett 1921: 142; and on Alalah orthostats, see Woolley 1955: 224). This proposal was rejected by Rudolf Naumann (1971: 111–117) when discussing similar circular dowel holes (*Bohrlöcher*) at the Temple I at Hattua/Boazköy, pointing out the spoliated condition of the Karkam Processional Entry orthostats. The absence of any crowbar traces around such mortises support Naumann's position.

62 Deeper and larger rectangular slots are attested more commonly in some Iron Age orthostats. However, this cannot be used as dating criteria; see Naumann 1971: 111–114. But see Özyar 1998a: 636, for discussion of how circular dowel holes are used as a diagnostic feature for dating orthostats to the second millennium. Hult (1983: 79) mentions that circular dowel holes are drilled rather than chiseled like the square ones, and this really depends on the hardness of the stone. My contention is that what determines the dowel shape is the specific wall technique that is employed at a particular region, either using horizontal beams fixed on the stone socles by the help of the dowels or timber posts that are driven right into the slots on top of the stone.

63 Stein 1997: 57. This is mostly based on the tablets that were found in the Level VII palace, some belonging to Hammurapi of Yamhad and a greater amount belonging to his son Yarim-Lm and other heirs. See Woolley 1955: 91. On the absolute dating of the Level VII to 1640–1600 BCE, see Heinz 1992: 204. See also Marie-Henriette Gates's work (1981) on the dating of Levels VI and V.

64 Woolley 1955: 91–106, especially 92 and illustrated in figure 35, plates 13, 15. See also Hult 1983: 38; Heinz 1992: 14–18; Naumann 1971: 81–82.

65 Unfortunately, the final reports were not published because Professor Alkm died in 1981. Refik Duru, an archaeologist who worked with Alkm is expected to publish this material. Preliminary reports of Alkm's work were published regularly in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* and *Belleten* volumes of the years 1960 to 1970. The most comprehensive presentation of the Middle Bronze Age levels at the site, with excellent architectural illustrations by Ferit Koper, is Alkm 1962b. Tilmen Höyük's excavation results are summarized in English in a regional context in Alkm 1969. Refik Duru published a retrospective review article (1980) and a book (2003).

66 On the stratigraphy of Tilmen Höyük, see Alkm 1969: 283–286; on trenches G, H, and I in the lower town, see Alkm 1970: 41; on the architecture of the palace, see Alkm 1962b: 459–463; on the defensive system, see Duru 1980: 39–42. The dating is primarily based on stratified ceramic evidence and small finds, including an inscribed clay bulla with a seal impression found in the reused debris on top of Level IIc in the palace (Alkm 1962a: 5–6). For a drawing of the seal impression, see Alkm 1969: 286 top. The three-sign cuneiform inscription reads *ib-la-du*, possibly part of a personal name of the seal-owner from the city of *Ibla*. Architectural comparison of Tilmen Level IIc palace to Alalah Level VII palace supports the dating. Alkm mentions that samples were sent to the University of Pennsylvania for C₁₄ analysis, but, to my knowledge, the results of these were never published.

67 These observations are primarily based on the author's visit to the site in July 2002.

68 Considering the political *koin* of the time period in Syria, Karkami should also be included in this shared architectural culture, even though the pre-Iron Age archaeological strata from the site are not available. Qatna (Tell Mishrife) was also certainly taking part. Renewed excavations at this site will hopefully illuminate this point.

69 Matthiae's (1997) article also presents several important aspects of

this regional tradition. On the issue of reception suites, see Matthiae 1990a; on the monumental temple, see Matthiae 1990b.

70 Comparable in these terms and roughly contemporary is the Upper Mesopotamian (Middle Tigris/Habur) architectural innovation of molded mudbrick temple façades in imitation of spiral columns or palm trunks, attested in sites associated with the foundations of Amī-Adad I, such as at Tell al Rimah (*Qatara?*) and Tell Leilan (*ubat-Enlil*) (Oates 1990). At the site of Tell al Rimah, possibly Old Syrian *Qatara*, 65 km west of Nnuwa, the excavators found a number of sculpted impost blocks and a carved “orthostat” of fine-grained limestone in secondary context in the Level II (Mittanian: c. 1550–1400 BCE) and Level I (Middle Assyrian: c. 1350–1200 BCE) of the Great Temple. See Postgate, Oates and Oates 1997, 26; plates 6–9. Earlier publication of this discovery was reported in Oates 1967. The impost blocks include figures of a goddess, a bull-man, and two Humbaba figures; and the heavily weathered “orthostat” depicts a scorpion man. Because all of these were found in the secondary context, excavators favor an Old Babylonian date (1800–1600 BCE) for the orthostat and the impost blocks, assigning their original creation to Level 3. None of these stone blocks suggest any structural use in the wall structures.

71 Ashlar masonry is most comprehensively studied in Hult 1983, with particular emphasis on Late Bronze Cyprus and the Levant. On the building technologies in ancient Cyprus, see Wright 1992; on South Syria and Palestine, see Wright 1985; for the Anatolian plateau, Naumann 1971 has to be consulted. For the recent work on Hattusa Upper city, see Neve 1993 and 1993b, Seeher 2006, and Schachner 2006; for the newly excavated sites Kuakl and Ortaköy: most recently Müller-Karpe 2002 and Süel 2002, respectively.

72 The dissemination of iron-working technologies has to be especially singled out.

73 The historical problem of the Late Bronze Age political contact zones in the Near East is addressed from a structuralist point of view, by Liverani (1990). For the development of an “international style” in the craftsmanship of prestige goods, see most recently Feldman 2002

with literature. On the mobility of craftsmen and artisanal knowledge, see Zaccagnini 1983 and Moorey 2001.

74 Bryce 1998: 75–102, and 195; Klengel 1999: 155–167; Hawkins 1996: 76.

75 See Macridy 1908. For debates on the dating, see Naumann 1971: 81–82. Naumann prefers a late thirteenth century date, while Mellink rejects this late date (1970: 18).

76 The narrative subject matter is also known from a number of Hittite relief vases, especially from Bitik and Inandk; see Mellink 1970: 18.

77 On the Alacahöyük relief program, see Mellink 1970 and 1974. Mellink (1974: 203) has already pointed out the architectural character of the relief blocks; Naumann (1971: 79–81) briefly discussed the architectonic aspects of the construction.

78 On the building phases and the dating of the sculptural programs, see Ab. Assaf 1990: 20–24 and 39–41. An American team of archaeologists under the direction of Elizabeth C. Stone and Paul E. Zimansky also carried out surface survey and soundings in the lower town of Ain Dr. settlement in 1983–1984. They published the results of this work in Stone and Zimansky 1999. The primary objective of this research was “a detailed sequence of cultural and environmental changes through the Bronze Age Early Iron Age transition,” which was not completely achieved but material assemblage from the soundings proved that the city at Ain Dr. had a substantial settlement at the end of the Bronze Age (thirteenth century BCE) and probably prospered most in the Iron II period (Stone and Zimansky 1999: 139–140). See also Zimansky 2002.

79 Ab. Assaf dated the sculptural program of the temple independent

of the architectural elements, and mostly based on stylistic criteria, and concluded that the first stylistic group that includes the mountain-god relief-orthostats (E1–7) dates to the thirteenth to twelfth centuries; and the second group, which includes the lion and sphinx protomes (C 5–26 and 31–42) and reliefs D 1–4 of the ante-cella (i.e., the relief of the mountain-god with upward turned toes and orthostats with guilloche pattern “false window”) dates to tenth century BCE. Problems for this art-historical dating have been pointed out already, particularly concerning the Itar-awuka relief (Alexander 2002; Orthmann 1993; Stone and Zimansky 1999: 3; Mazzoni 2000b: 1044; Zimansky 2002). Ab. Assaf himself has accepted that at least some of the reliefs found at ‘Ain Dr. should be associated with imperial Hittite realm, rather than Iron Age Syro-Hittite styles, and therefore should date to the thirteenth to twelfth centuries BCE.

80 On the reign of Tukult-apil-earra I, see Wiseman 1975 (CAH³ 2.2) 457–464, Kuhrt 1995 I: 358–362; Postgate 1985.

81 Tadmor (1997:327) suggests that two literary genres of the time period were blended together by the scribes of Tukult-apil-earra I's court: “the heroic epic” and “the chronicle.” See also Tadmor 1977. The idea of including military accomplishments with building activity in a similar cause-effect relationship can be traced back to one of the Middle Bronze Age kings of Mari, Yahdun-Lim (late nineteenth century BCE), whose clay cone inscription from Mari states territorial acquisitions and building projects, including the foundation of a new city, Dr-Yahdun-Lim. See Sasson 1990b.

82 The text is translated most recently by Grayson 1991: 38–45; text A.0.87.4. I followed this translation. It was originally collated, translated, and published by Weidner (1958: 347–359)

83 s.v. “agurru” CAD A, Part I: 160–163. Originally “kiln-fired brick.” When used with a stone determinative followed with a type of stone, it is attested as “paving stone, tile (of stone), slab” in inscriptions of Tukult-apil-Earra I, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. The alternative word *askuppu* was later adapted from the time of Tukult-apil-Earra III onward, to be used for upright slabs in architectural contexts. s.v.

“askuppu,” *CAD A*, Part II: 334–335.

84 Grayson 1991: 62. For a brief description of the inscribed pieces, see Andrae, 1905: 52–56. For pictures of these sculptural fragments, see Weidner 1958: Abb. 1–5 in 357–358. See discussion in 355–359 on the *nahiru* and *burhi* statues in Weidner's commentary to his edition of the text. On this topic, see Briquel-Chatonnet and Bordreuil 2000.

Chapter 6: Cities, Place, and Desire

1 Jones and Stallybrass 2000: 7ff on the relation between commodification, fetishism, and the effacing of social relations of material things. This discussion is mostly based on Marx's critique of capitalism.

2 See various texts by Robert Vischer, Conrad Fiedler, Heinrich Wölfflin, Adolf Göller, Adolf Hildebrand and August Schmarsow, translated and published in Mallgrave and Ikonomidou 1994.

3 Smith (2003) argues that, along with space, the concept of time was also abstracted and removed from its social context of human practices by the modernist discourse.

4 Two important examples, relevant for our purposes, are Reade's interpretation of architectural space in Late Assyrian palaces (Reade 1979d) and Novák's study of Near Eastern cities (1999). Reade argued that “architectural and decorative techniques changed little within the Neo-Assyrian period.” He attempted to “visualize” a composite and sample palace design with particular “elaborate effects” reserved for different parts of the complex (Reade 1979d: 75). Whereas Reade's work represents one of the most vigorous attempts to understand the architecture in Assyrian palaces, his analytical methodology derives from the modernist concepts of the experiential qualities of space.

Likewise, Novák (1999: xxiii) suggested that the urban form of the Near Eastern city was shaped by the “ideological programme of the ruling system” and the cosmological meanings of architectural space was communicated with the inhabitants by “a psychological means of transmission.” For a criticism of impressionistic and formalist approaches to space in archaeology and anthropology, see Ingold 2000: 178–181 and Turnbull 2002: 129–130.

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